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Jainism and Karnāṭaka Culture

By

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The Karnatak Historical Research Society, which was founded in 1914, proposes shortly to celebrate its Silver Jubilee. It has been resolved that the publication of authoritative books on Karnatak History should be one of the principal features of the celebrations. 'Jainism and Karnatak Culture' is the first publication in the series.

The Society is thankful to the author, Prof. S R. Sharma, for having readily made the treatise available for inclusion in the Silver Jubilee Celebration Series. The Society is indebted to Principal A. C. Farran, M.A , I.E S. and members of the Kannada Culture Committee, whose sympathies alone could enable the Society to publish this work without financial worry

The Society expresses its sense of gratitude to A. B. Latthe, Esqr, M A., LL B, M. L. A, Late Finance Minister to the Government of Bombay, for having kindly written a lucid foreword to this work.

The Society trusts that the scheme of the Silver Jubilee Publications will appeal to the Society's sympathisers and the general public and persuade them to extend their sympathetic and active aid in this work.

K. H. R SOCIETY
DHARWAR
5th February 40

D. P. KARMARKAR,
Organising Secretary
Silver Jubilee Publications

FOREWORD

In commemoration of its Silver Jubilee, the Karnataka Historical Research Society has planned the publication of a series of which the first volume is now being issued to the public. This volume constitutes a review of the Karnataka history of Jainism, particularly in its relationship with the culture of the Province As shown by the writer, for over a thousand years from the first century of the Christian era onwards, Jainism flourished in all parts of the Karnataka and while being itself influenced in several ways, Jainism has left an indelible mark on the growth of the Karnataka Society. The volume deals with the changes Jainism accepted in its history in this Province as well as the many ways in which it affected the thought and life of its people. The author has no prejudices or pre-possessions which a writer who professes a faith finds difficult to avoid in discussing the past achievements of that faith The knowledge of such a writer is sometimes found to be defective owing to lack of experience and intimate contact. But his advantage is that he can bring an open mind to his study of the history of the faith and that is a great advantage indeed The author of the volume has bestowed considerable labour on his study of his subject which is characterised by impartiality and breadth of mind.

The author's study into the modifications of the original Jain principles owing to the reactions of the environments in which they had to grow in the Karnataka is of special interest to the followers of the Jain faith. It shows why Jainism disintegrated after a vigorous life of over ten centuries in this part of the country. To put it in a nutshell, the author's view is that the conditions prevailing in the Karnataka in the later days affected the purity of the Jain principles in fundamental ways. The caste system which subdivides the Jains into small, isolated blocks and weakens their faith as an instrument of growth, is an accretion gathered by Jainism during its stay in Karnataka. This largely led to the decay of Jainism in this Province. Incidentally, the author's views on the causes of the decay and downfall of Jainism here show unmistakably the vital defects in the body of ideas and customs which have in recent times kept Karnataka at a very low rung in the ladder of progress.

The utility of this volume leads one to hope that similar studies in the various forces which operated in Karnataka after the sun of Jainism had set would follow this, the first volume of the series. The author has set a fine example in dispassionate and yet appreciative study of his subject which I hope those who come after him will do well to follow.

BELGAUM
16th January 1940

A. B. Latthe

PREFACE

The main substance of the present work form part of the thesis entitled "Jainism in South India" which was approved by the University of Bombay for conferring on me the degree of Master of Arts, in 1928. I am thankful to the University for their kind permission to publish my work in this revised form. Portions in the original dealing with Jainism in South India outside Karnataka have been omitted in the present publication Likewise, I have considerably revised the chapters incorporated herein both for correcting errors as well as for recasting them so as to suit the changed title. The result has been an all but complete overhauling of the original thesis on account of its new orientation. Though I cannot claim that even now it is impeccable I am hopeful that I have considerably improved upon the original work Having been otherwise engaged since the thesis was presented to the University, twelve years ago, I sincerely regret I could not find time for a more searching scrutiny But such as it is, I offer the present work for what it may be worth.

I am indebted to the Karnatak Historical Research Society of Dharwar for the inclusion of this publication in their valuable series My obligations to Professor A. N. Upadhye, M.A, D Lit., Professor R. S. Mugali, M A, B.T., Mr. Ugran Mangesh Rao, Mr. K. P. Jain and Mr. D. P. Karmarkar, M.A., LL B.

for their very valuable criticisms and suggestions for the improvement of the work are greater than I could express in adequate words. My gratefulness to Rev. H Heras, S. J., under whom I worked for my original thesis is no less great and sincere.

The views I have expressed are my own. Some of them might appear to be too contentious for dogmatic assertion. Likewise, too, some of my authorities may not be acceptable to all. But I can earnestly plead that I have written without sectarian bias and utilised all the sources available to me to the best of my critical faculty. If my work succeeds in stimulating efforts to supersede it I shall be content.

WILLINGDON COLLEGE,
January, 1940

S. R. SHARMA

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ABBREVIATIONS

A S of W I	Archaeological Survey of Western India
Ep Car	Epigraphia Carnatica
Ep Ind	Epigraphia Indica
Ind Ant	Indian Antiquary
I H. Q	Indian Historical Quarterly
JBBRAS	Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society
J B and O R S	Journal of Behar and Orissa Research Society
J. R A. S	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
M D. J G	Manekcandra Digambara Jaina Granthamālā
SB.	Śravaṇa Beḷgola.
S B E	Sacred Books of the East
S. B J	Sacred Books of the Jainas

BAHUBALIN *or* GOMMATA SRAVANA BELGOLA

(Frontispiece)

INTRODUCTION

Both *Jainism* and *Karnātaka Culture* are among the least studied aspects of South Indian History I am not aware of more than a couple of published works on each of these themes Since the publication of *Studies in South Indian Jainism* by Messrs Ramaswami Ayyangar and Sheshagiri Rao, in 1922, there has appeared only one other book dealing with *Mediaeval Jainism* (with special reference to the Vijayanagara Empire) by Dr B A Saletore published very recently (1938) Likewise, I have come across only two works on Karnātaka Culture, namely, *Popular Culture in Karnātaka* by Mr Masti Venkatesa Iyengar (1937) and *Karnātaka Samskṛti* (in Kannada) by Mr N S Devudu (1935) Valuable as these contributions are, they have not rendered any further work along similar lines superfluous Nor is it presumed in the present essay that its subject is capable of being easily exhausted. This is therefore to be judged only as one more effort to study a rich theme from a fresh angle of approach

It is well to make it clear at the outset that this is neither a complete study of Jainism in Karnātaka nor a complete study of Karnātaka Culture, but merely an Introductory Essay attempting to assess the bearing of the former upon the latter and *vice versa*, with particular reference to a few outstanding aspects For this purpose it is desirable to survey the History of Karnātaka from the point of view of the rôle of Jainism, on the one hand, and the evolution of Karnāṭaka Culture, on the other. This has been partly attempted in Section One The 'Historical Survey' contained therein does not, therefore, touch upon other problems of either Jaina or Karnāṭaka History The chronology of successive rulers of the various dynasties and their political relations and doings, for instance, have not been dealt with beyond the bounds of strict relevance A knowledge of the

political history of Karnāṭaka in particular, and of South India in general, is consequently presumed. On the other hand, the exact influence of Jainism over rulers and people alike has been sought to be assessed, by a closer scrutiny of epigraphical and other references than appears to have been done by some pro-Jaina scholars A sentimental writer of Jaina history is prone to the very insidious temptation of exaggerating, may be unconsciously, the value of his evidence. I have made a deliberate effort to avoid such lapses Similarly, no attempt has been made to push the antiquity of Jainism in Karnāṭaka beyond the limits acceptable to modern (scientific) scholarship The dynastic histories of the Kadambas, Gangas, Calukyas, Rāṣṭrakūtas, Hoysalas, and others, though at times contemporaneous or over-lapping from a strictly chronological view point, have been here treated in isolated succession It is hoped that this will be more conducive to clearness of impression (as to the rôle of Jainism in each family taken as a whole) than the more usual and correct method of dealing with each epoch in all its complexity

In the second and third Sections a systematic attempt has been made to carefuly determine the unmistakable contributions of the Jainas to Kannada Literature, Art, and Architecture Though it is not necessary here to anticipate the conclusions arrived at there, it may be pointed out that something more than a mere enumeration of works has been aimed at

In Section Three, entitled 'Idealism and Realism,' I have attempted to show how Jainism, a faith of North Indian origin, came to be transformed in its South Indian environment in Karnātaka Though such a study might reveal considerable divergence between the theory and practices of Jainism, it is not to be forgotten that all other religions, like Buddhism, Brāhmanism, Islam, and Christianity, have also been subject to such metamorphosis under similar circumstances What is sought is, therefore, not to disparage Jainism in Karnāṭaka, but only to estimate its exact character as determined by the local

conditions and non-Jaina influences in the country of its domicile I know that orthodox Jainas are not inclined to approve of (some of them even resent) these conclusions But modern research can only accept facts objectively ascertained and not sentimentally selected How far my data are reliable and my inferences logical is for my unbiased readers to judge In the concluding chapter I have summarised all the significant points in the essay and tried finally to evaluate the essential elements of Karnāṭaka Culture and the place of Jainism therein

I. HISTORICAL SURVEY

ANTIQUITY

The purpose of this Survey is to determine the place of Jainism in the History of Karnātaka with a view to ultimately assess its influence on Karnāṭaka Culture To achieve this object it is necessary to find evidence of the introduction and spread of Jainism in Karnātaka, without overlooking the religious atmosphere of each successive epoch The religious history of India is different from that of most other countries Here, it is well to bear in mind that the 'conversion' of a ruler to any creed does not necessarily imply the wholesale conversion of all or even most of his subjects Nor does patronage of the followers, protagonists, or institutions of any faith indicate *conversion* in the technical sense Hence it is very essential to distinguish between *Patrons* or sympathisers and *Converts* or actual followers Most of the sectarian histories give an exaggerated picture of the importance and influence of their creeds on account of their failure to recognise this difference

Another point on which modern scholarship and sentimental orthodoxy have disagreed is that of the antiquity of the introduction of Jainism into the South Though the Jainas may assert that Mahāvīra himself had travelled through South India (presumably making converts), and that there were Jainas in the South already when Bhadrabāhu migrated to the South from Bihar, under circumstances presently to be discussed, conclusive evidence to bear out these beliefs is lacking In the absence of such evidence we must be content to go only as far as the epigraphs allow us, and no farther

The earliest of the Jaina lithic records yet available to us has been assigned by experts, on palæographic grounds, to the close of the sixth century A D. This is the inscription (SB. 1) on

the rock, variously named as Candragiri, Katavapra, and Kalbappu, at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa in Mysore[1] In it we are told that·

'Bhadrabāhu-svāmin—of lineage rendered illustrious by a succession of great men who came in regular descent from the venerable supreme *ṛṣi* Gautama-gaṇadhara, his immediate disciple Lohārya, Jambhu, Visṇudeva, Aparājita, Govardhana, *Bhadrabāhu*, Viśākha, Proṣtila, Krttikāiya, Jayanāma, Siddārtha, Buddhila and other teachers—who was acquainted with the true nature of the eightfold great omens, and was a seer of the past, present, and the future, having learnt from an omen and foretold in Ujjaini a calamity lasting for a period of twelve years, the entire *samgha* (or community) set out from the North to the South, and reached by degrees a country. filled with happy people, .. gold, . . and herds of buffaloes, goats, and sheep

'Then separating himself from the *Samgha* an *Ācārya*, Prabhācandra by name, desiring to accomplish *Samādhi* the goal of penance associated with right conduct, on this high-peaked mountain—Katavapra, bade farewell to and dismissed the *Samgha* in its entirety, and in company with a single disciple, mortifying his body on the wide expanse of the cold rocks, accomplished (*Samādhi*)

'And, in course of time, seven hundred *Rsis* or Saints (similarly) accomplished (*Samādhi*) '[2]

The value and implications of this epigraph have been discussed at considerable length by the late Mr R Narasimhachar, in the *Epigraphia Carnatica* Hence it will be superfluous to reconsider the question here[3] The conclusion of the late Dr V A. Smith, regarding the plausibility of the persistent tradition about Candragupta Maurya having accompanied

1 E C II, p. 71.
2 Ibid Tr pp 1-2
3 E. C. II, Introd, pp. 36-40

Bhadrabāhu (the last of the Jaina *Śrutakevalins*) to Mysore and died there by *Sallekhana*, may be accepted without any more ado Though at first Smith was inclined to reject the Bhadrabāhu-Candragupta tradition as "imaginary history," "after much consideration," he admitted "the main facts as affirmed by tradition" to have "solid foundation in fact"[4] "In short," he writes, "the Jaina tradition holds the field, and no alternative account exists."[5]

There are numerous mementos of Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa, even apart from references to their migration to the South contained in literary works such as the *Bṛhat-Kathākōśa* by Hariśena (931 A D), and others of a still later date For instance, there are the hill of Candragiri, with its cave of Bhadrabāhu, and the Candragupta-basti on the façade of which are carved ninety scenes from the lives of Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta Among the numerous inscriptions commemorating these *munis* (such as SB 40, 67, 258, and Sr 147–148) one is of particular importance, *viz* SB 31 (c. 650 A D) as it speaks of a Jaina *guru*, Śāntiśa, as having *restored* the Jaina faith, which had become weak, to its flourishing condition "*as it was under Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta*" This presumes a period of vigorous prosperity, followed by a period of lapse, and again a period of rise about the first half of the seventh century A D

But the history of this period cannot be construed in exact terms in the absence of lithic or other records of a reliable character The existence of the Aśoka inscriptions at Moḷakālmuru in Mysore,[6] belonging to the last years of Aśoka, makes it of course certain that the Maurya empire extended so far. In the Kalsi Rock Edict XIII Aśoka declares "There is no country where these (two) classes (*viz.*) Brāhmaṇas and *Śramanas*, do

4 *Early History of India* (revised ed.), p. 154.

5 *Ox Hist. of India*, p 76. For a succinct statement of the arguments in support of this view read Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pp 3–9.

6 For details see Rice, loc. cit., pp. 9-14.

Sravana Belgola View of Vindhyagiri and Kalyani (*Vide page 6*)

not exist, except among the Yonas." [7] By inference, we may presume that *Śramanas* existed also in the Karṇātaka part of Aśoka's empire. As Dr Bhandarkar has pointed out, Aśoka uses the term *Samgha* while speaking of the Buddhists alone, and *Śramaṇa* while referring to the Jainas as well.[8] Kundakundācārya, the earliest of the Digambara Jaina writers of South India, applies the term *Śramanas* to members of his own sect [9] Thus it is quite plausible that Jainism continued in the South after Candragupta down to the days of Aśoka

Samprati, the grandson of Aśoka, is generally accepted to have been a Jaina, being converted to the Śvetāmbara creed by Suhastin He appears to have sent Jaina missionaries of his persuasion into South India [10] Though we do not know how far they penetrated into the Karnāṭaka, this is the first reference we have to the Śvetāmbaras in the South. After Śuhastin, the saint Kālakācārya (c ist cent B C) [11] is said to have gone to the King of *Pentha* (?) in the Deccan to invite him to attend his discourses at *Pajjusana* May this have been Hāla of the Śatavāhana dynasty (who is believed to have been a Jaina [12]) ruling from Paithan (Pratistānapura)? The early existence of Śvetāmbara Jainas in North Deccan is also indicated by references to Padaliptācārya's visit to Mānyakheta (Malkheḍ in the Nizam's Dominions) The *Samyaktva-saptati* of Haribhadrasuri relates that the people of Mānyakheta would not allow Padaliptācārya (c ist cent B C) to leave them and go elsewhere, it also says that in all the neighbourhood there existed Jaina *Samghas* noted for their good qualities ' But as it also adds, that 'just as the King Ugra (?) held him (Padaliptācārya) in high esteem, *so others did not care a straw*

7 Hultzsch, *As'oka Inscriptions*, p. 47 (J).
8 Bhandarkar, *As'oka*, pp 168-72.
9 Smith, Ox Hist, p 117, n 1. *Pravacanasāra*, Bhandarkar, *Report on San. Mss.*, 1883-84, pp 97-100
10 *Ibid*, p 135
11 I A, XI, pp 247, 251, C. H I, pp 167-68.
12 Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, p. 58.

for him,[13] it is evident that not all the people of Mānyakheṭa were Śvetāmbara Jainas As late as 1440 A D there was a Jaina teacher named Mahade who converted the Digambaras of Deogiri (Daulatābād) into Śvetāmbaras and conferred titles on learned ladies as well [14] Thus it would appear that in the northern parts of ancient Karnātaka the Śvetāmbaras were fairly strong, while within Karnāṭaka proper the Digambaras predominated, as we shall observe later

When exactly and under what circumstances the schism between the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras took place is not strictly relevant to discuss in our present context But it may be noted that the Bhadrabāhu migration either caused or accentuated the differences between the two since the *Paṭṭāvalies* or genealogical lists of the two sects are fairly in agreement up to Bhadrabāhu I and diverge greatly after him However, we find no trace of the work of the Jaina *gurus* who followed Bhadrabāhu I, beyond the mention of their names in the succession lists, until we come to Kundakunda, Umāsvāti and Samantabhadra.[15] Kundakunda being also called *Elācārya*[16] has led some writers to identify him with various persons bearing the latter name [17] Though no finality may be claimed for any opinion regarding this problem, it is interesting to note in this connexion that Dr Saletore emphatically states "All these considerations lead us to the conclusion that Kondakunda must have been a Kannadiga, hailing from the village of Konakonala in the neighbourhood of Guntakal "[18] If this could he established beyond challenge the conclusion would be of utmost importance

13 *My Arch Report*, 1923, pp 10-11, *Samyaktva-saptati* vv 96 & 158; I. A XI, p. 251.

14 My. Arch Report 1924, pp. 13-14.

15 I A XI, pp 245 ff, Ibid XXI, pp 57 ff, E. C II, SB. 254

16 *South Indian Inscriptions*, I pp 157-7 ll. 6-7.

17 Jaina Gazette, XVIII, pp. 8-16. Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*, pp. 225-28, 233-40.

18 Ibid. p 228 See the S'ravaṇa Belgoḷa list of Pontiffs in Mysore Gazetteer, I, p. 287.

for our theme The value of Kundakunda's work will be assessed in a later chapter. He is placed about the first century B. C. by some scholars[19] Professor A. N. Upadhye places him at the beginning of the Christian Era.[20]

KADAMBAS AND GANGAS

The next contemporary epigraphical foothold that we possess,[21] in following the history of Jainism in Karnāṭaka is a grant made by the Kadamba Kakutsthavarma, when he was *Yuvarāja*, to the General Śrutakīrti[22] The gift consisted of a field called '*Bodhavara-kṣetra*' which was 'in the village of Kheṭagrāma which belongs to the holy Arhats,' and the record concludes with 'Reverence to Ṛṣabha!' Yet, in the light of other grants of the same prince we cannot conclude that the donor was an "avowed Jaina," as some have sought to make out of Kakutsthavarma[23] The circumstances under which the gift was made appear to be that Śrutakīrti, who was a Jaina, saved the life of Kakutsthavarma and thus earned the grant Possibly, therefore, out of sheer gratitude, he only used Jaina invocations for the satisfaction of the donee Kakutsthavarma also made similar grants to Brāhmans,[24] but he never repeated in them his 'reverence to Rsabha!' Had he been himself an "avowed Jaina" he would surely have done so In this connection the following observations of Prof Moraeas on the religion of the Kadambas may very well be borne in mind 'These kings nevertheless were of a very tolerant disposition, and allowed other religions to flourish in their kingdom side by side with

19 I. A. XXI, p. 74, Hiralal, *Catalogue of MSS. in C. P. & Berar*, Introd p. vii ff.

20 *Pravacanasāra*, Introd p 22.

21 The foundation of the Ganga kingdom under Jaina auspices will be dealt with later. Though the event is supposed to have taken place earlier, its earliest extant epigraphic reference belongs to the 7th cent. A. D.

22 Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, I. A. VI p. 24.

23 Dr B. A. Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism*, p 30.

24 E. C. VII, i, SK 176; E. C. VIII, pp. 28-36

Śaivism. This toleration is evidenced by the numerous grants they made to the Jainas,[25] which led Dr J. F. Fleet, Mr K B Pathak and others to suppose that the Kadambas were of the Jaina persuasion [26] The error was however corrected by Dr. Fleet in the second edition of his *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*,[27] which he published after the discovery of the inscription of Śāntivarma at Talgunda That the religion of the Kadambas was Brahmanism and not Jainism is also established beyond doubt by an inscription of the same dynasty found in the Kadur Taluka Here Visṇuvarma, the donor of the grant is described as the " protector of the excellent Brahman faith " [28] Further we know from the epigraphical records that some of the kings performed the *aśvamedha* sacrifice [29] The later inscriptions say that the kings of this dynasty celebrated in all eighteen horse sacrifices [30] As this is a purely Brāhman rite, it affords further proof that these kings were not Jainas ' [31] Nevertheless, that, under the liberal patronage of the Kadambas, Jainism must have prospered in Karnātaka is evident from the various grants referred to below It is evident that despite their personal beliefs, some of the Kadamba rulers came to be very closely associated with the Jainas For instance, Mrgeśavarma, a grandson of Kakutsthavarma ' gave to the divine supreme Arhats ' fields at Vaijayanti ' for the purpose of the glory of sweeping (the temple) and anointing (the idol with ghee)' and performing worship etc entirely free from taxation." The grant also mentions, " This charter has been written by the very pious Dāmakīrti, the *Bhojaka* " [32] Another grant by the same monarch bears ' the seal of Jinendra ' and is important

25 Fleet, *op. cit.* pp. 25, 27, 29-32.
26 *Ibid*, VII, pp. 35 6. 38
27 Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, p. 286.
28 E. C. VI, Kd, 162
29 E. C., SK 178. Fleet, S & O. C. I., I. A. VII, p. 35.
30 E. C XI, Mk. 41 ; Dy. 32.
31 *Kadamba Kula*, pp. 249-50
32 Fleet, *S. and O. C. Inscriptions*, Ind. Ant. VII, pp. 36-7.

as showing Mṛgeśavarma's impartiality towards both the sects of Jainas, *viz*, the Śvetāmbaras and the Digambaras. He is said to have divided the village of Kālavanga into three parts and distributed them among representatives of the two sects The first he gave "to the Great God Jinendra, the holy Arhat, and it was called 'the Hall of the Arhat'", the second was given "for the enjoyment of the sect of eminent ascetics of *Śvetapatha which was intent on practising the true religion declared by the Arhat*," and that the third was given "to the sect of eminent ascetics called the Nirgranthas"[33] The words italicised would seem to indicate that the king or the scribe belonged to the Śvetāmbara persuasion But apart from this they confirm our belief as to the existence of Śvetāmbaras in the Deccan from very early times, as mentioned earlier. However, it is not to be forgotten that Mṛgesha also made a grant "to the holy Arhats for the purpose of supporting the *Kūrcakas or naked religious mendicants*."[34] The grants of Ravivarma and Bhānuvarma, both sons of Mṛgeśavarma, manifest this growing influence of Jainism yet more clearly.

That of Raviśena at Palāsika, or Hālsi in the Belgaum District, is both interesting and important from a historical point of view. Besides recounting the grant of Kakutsthavarma to Ravikīrti and Śrutakīrti, it also states that King Śāntivarma (son of Kakutstha) and his son "the pious Mṛgeśa," gave the grant to the mother of Dāmakīrti, "for the sake of piety and according to the direction of his father"[35] Incidentally it tells us that Śrutakīrti was "the Bhoja priest, the best among men, who was the receptacle of sacred learning, who was possessed of the qualities of performing sacrifices etc." That he was identical with the general who was the recepient of Kakutsthavarma's grant is indicated by the expression that he "enjoyed the village of Kheta," which is the same as

33 Ibid., Ind. Ant. VII, p. 38.
34 Ibid, Ind. Ant. VI, p. 25
35 Ibid., p. 27.

Badhovara-Kṣetra, mentioned above This would seem to indicate that the General Śrutakīrti belonged to the priestly class or combined in himself the offices of the high-priest with that of a military commander [36] Dāmakīrti's son Jayakīrti is described as " the door-keeper whose family had been well established in the world owing to the Ācārya called Bandhuṣeṇa." [37] But more than anything else this grant of Ravivarma is valuable for its revelation of the royal faith and the inculcation of its practice upon all his countrymen and citizens It states

> " The lord Ravi established the ordinance at the mighty city of Palasika that the glory of Jinendra (the festival of) which lasts for eight days, should be celebrated regularly every year on the full-moon of (the month) Kārtika from the revenues of that (village), that ascetics should be supported during the four months of the rainy season, that the learned men, the chief of whom was Kumāradatta, whose intellects had been wearied by (excessive study of) many scriptures and collections of precepts, who were renowned in the world, who abounded in good penances, and whose sect was his auhority for what he did, —should according to justice enjoy all the material substance of that greatness, and that the worship of Jinendra should be perpetually performed by the pious countrymen and citizens.
>
> " Wheresoever the worship of Jinendra is kept up there is increase of the country, and the cities are free from fear, and the lords of those countries acquire strength ! Reverence, reverence ! " [38]

Another grant of Ravivarma ' to the God Jinendra ' describes him as the ' the mighty king, the sun of the sky of the mighty family of the Kadambas. ' He is also stated in the same grant

36 Ibid., Bhojaka or Bhoja is explained by Fleet meaning " officiating priest." Ibid., p. 25.

37 Ibid., p. 27.

38 Ibid.

to have uprooted Caṇḍaduṇḍa the lord of Kānchi and established himself at Palasika.[39] Ravivarma's grand-father Śāntivarma has also been described as the 'master of the entire Karnāṭa region.'[40] These serve to indicate the political status of these Early Kadambas of Hālsi or Palasika Hence their personal allegiance to the Jaina faith must have had considerable influence in spreading the religion among the masses as well "The motive that incited him (Ravivarma)," says the grant, "was to increase his religious merit" [41] Similarly, his brother Bhānuvarma's devotion to Jainism is also attested by a grant "By him, desirous of prosperity, this land was given to the Jainas, in order that the ceremony of ablutions might always be performed without fail on the days of the full-moon.' It was, as usual, given "free from the gleaning-tax and all other burdens," and was assigned by the Bhojaka Pandara "The worshipper of the Supreme Arhat, who had acquired the favour of the feet of the glorious king Bhānuvarma" [42]

Last but not the least, Kadamba Harivarma's grant speaks of "the sect of Virasenācārya of the Kūrcakas of the village of Vasantavātika in the district of Suddikundara," to whose leader Candraksānta the grant was made "for providing annually at the great eight days' sacrifice the perpetual anointing with clarified butter, for the temple of the Arhat, which Mṛgeśa, son of the general Simha of the lineage of Bharadwāja, had caused to be built at Palasika" Whatever was to remain over after this, the grant adds, was to be devoted to the purpose of feeding the whole sect [43] Harivarma also made another grant to the Jainas "at the request of Bhānuśakti of the family of Sendrakas." Speaking of the donor it says, "the

39 Ibid., p 30.
40 *Cf.* Dubreuil, *Ancient Deccan*, pp 74-5.
41 Fleet, *S and O. C. Inscriptions*, Ind. Ant. VI, p 30.
42 Ibid., p 29.
43 Ibid., p 31.

excellence of whose body and intellect had been produced by the great religious merit acquired by good actions performed in a previous state of existence" He gave the village of Marade "for the holy people and the performance of rites of the temple which was the property of the sect of Śramaṇas called the *Aharisti* and the authority of which was superintended by the Ācārya Dharmanandi" And, in conclusion, the grant declares, "The reward of them who preserve bridges and repair them when broken is declared to be twice as great as (the reward of) the original builders of them."[44] Even when the Kadambas became formally Brāhmanical again, as they did later on, we find that they continued to patronise Jainism as attested by a grant of "Deva son of Kṛṣṇa who celebrated horse sacrifices.[45] In the opinion of Fleet this was not later than the 10th cent A D [46] The land was given to the sect of Yāpaniyas,[47] at Triparvata in the village of Siddhakedāra "through a desire for the rewards of his own meritorious act"[48]

JAINA GOLDEN AGE UNDER THE GANGAS

The Gangas of Mysore were for a long time the political rivals and enemies of the Kadambas "A still more distinguished dynasty," says Smith, "was that of the Gangas, who ruled over the greater part of Mysore, from the 2nd to the 11th century, and played an important part in the incessant mediaeval wars" [49] But more than anything else, we are interested in their consistent patronage of Jainism, which might be truly said to have attained its Golden Age under the

44 Ibid, p. 32.

45 Ibid., p 34.

46 Ibid., p. 33.

47 The Yapaniyas, Kūrcakas, Nirgranthas etc were naked Jaina sects Cf. Ibid., p. 34 n 11. Also see *Journal of the University of Bombay* I, VI, May 1933.

48 Ibid., p. 34

49 Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 199

Gangas. The very foundation of their kingdom is attributed to the influence of the great Jaina teacher Simhanandi Ācārya as indicated by the *Samayabhūṣana, Gommata-Sāra and Kongudesa-Rājakkal,* as well as by numerous Ganga inscriptions [50] "It is therefore no wonder," observes Mr Ghosal, "that we shall find in Jaina works verses to the effect that Ganga kings worshipped the feet of Simhanandi, or that a dynasty which owed its origin to the help of a Jaina Ācārya should be staunch to the Jaina religion" He also adds, "numerous inscriptions dating from the 4th to the 12 cent A D testify to the building of the Jaina temples, consecration of Jaina images of worship, hollowing out of caves for Jaina ascetics and grants to Jaina Ācāryas by the rulers of the Ganga dynasty" [51] Rice considered them to be the principal Jaina dynasty of the south "With Nandagiri as the fort, Kuvalāla as their city, the 96,000 as their kingdom, victory as their companion in the battlefield, Jinendra as their God, the Jaina *mata* as their faith, Dādiga and Mādhava ruled over the earth." [52]

To illustrate the above remarks we have only to subjoin a few examples The Kudlur plates of Mārasimha throw ample light upon the religion of the Ganga rulers [53] Of the very first among them, namely, Kongunivarma I, the record says, he "obtained great power by favour of the doctrine of Arhadbhattāraka," and adds that "by favour of Simhanandyācārya he (obtained) strength of arm and valour" [54] Rice thinks that there must have been a considerable Jaina element in the population of Mysore at the time over whom Simhanandi exerted his influence to gain their acceptance of the Ganga rule [55]

50 *Cf* Rice, Mysore Gazetteer I, p. 310, E. C. II. Introd. pp. 46–7. Mysore Archaeological Report, 1921, p 26

51 Ghosal, *Dravyasamgraha*, B. B J. I, Intord . pp. XIX-XX.

52 Rice, Mysore Gazetteer I, pp. 308, 310,

53 *Cf*, Mysore Archaeological Report 1922 p 20 Read Krishna Rao, *The Gangas of Talakad*. pp 179–213.

54 Kudlur Plates of Mārasimha, Ibid., 1921 pp. 19, 26.

55 Rice, Mysore Gazetteer I, p. 311.

Yet it is supposed on the authority of a few Brāhmanical grants that the next few rulers reverted to the Brāhmanical creed.[56] But the two grants upon which this inference is based are according to Rice "both open to doubt"[57] The fact that Harivarma or any other made grants to the Brāhmaṇas is not sufficient to prove that there was any change in the royal faith. Avinīta who seems to have had for his preceptor the Jaina Ācārya Vijayakīrti, made a grant to the Brāhmaṇas. Likewise, Konguni II, son of Mādhava II, also made a grant to the Brāhmaṇas[58] But from this to deduce that towards the end of the fifth century Sanskrit and Brāhmanical influences were gradually displacing old Kannada, and with it the power of the Jainas, its most eminent professors, and that by the time of Konguṇi II this Brāhmanical influence was paramount in the state, seems quite unwarrantable "The curious differences in the string of descriptive phrases attached to each king," which Rice points to in these inscriptions, are not, in our opinion, to be set down merely as "errors on the part of the composer or transcribers"[59] They are more fundamental and deliberate The way the Brāhmanical composers twist and clothe facts gives room for great suspicions. For instance, it is well known that the Hoysaḷas up to the time of Visnuvardhana's defection were mostly Jainas But the Arsikere grant of Vīra Ballāla gives no clue as to this, although it gives a long descriptive genealogy of the donor's predecessors On the other hand, it specially writes, "Victorious be the great Hoysala family which is like a bee in the lotus-like feet of Viṣṇu."[60]

56 *Cf.* Krishna Rao, op. cit. pp 29–34 Rāmaswami Aiyangār *Studies in S. I J.* I, p. 116.

57 Rice, Mysore Gazetteer I, p. 312

58 Rice, Two Kongu or Chera Grants, Ind. Ant. V, pp. 133 ff, Sheshagiri Rao, *Studies in S. I. J.* II, p. 88, Mysore Archaeological Report, 1924, pp. 69, 80-81.

59 Rice, Two Kongu Chera Grants Ind. Ant. V, pp. 133–37.

60 Mysore Archaelogical Report 1923, p. 35.

Mādhava II, father of Konguṇi II, is claimed to have been a Jaina and made grants to the Digambaras.[61] Konguṇi II's successor Avinīta, patronised both Brāhmaṇas and Jainas alike.[62] After him, Durvinīta is described as the disciple of the famous Jaina teacher and writer Pūjyapāda. Under his son, Muṣkara or Mukhara, Jainism is said to have become the "state religion.[63]" (?) In the eighth century Śri Puruṣa's grants mention the names of several Jaina gurus, and Śivamāra, son of Śrī Puruṣa, built a Jaina temple according to the earliest of the Ganga inscriptions[64] Rācamalla I, grandson of Śrī Puruṣa (through Raṇavikrama, brother of Śivamāra) excavated a Jaina cave in Wandewash Tāluk (N Arcot District) according to a Kannada inscription found at the place[65] His son Ereganga is described as having a "mind resembling a bee at the pair of lotus feet of the adorable Arhat-bhattāraka,"[66] and his son Rācamalla II, in his turn, made a grant to a Jaina priest for the Satyavākya Jinālaya in 888 A D He is described as "a devout Jaina who kept at a distance all the stain of the Kali Age" He married Candrobalabba, daughter of Amoghavarsa Rāṣṭrakūta, who was one of the greatest patrons of Jainism, as we shall later on see[67] Then we come upon the most glorious representatives of the Jaina faith · Mārasimha Ganga and Cāundarāya, Mārasimha's and his successor Rācamalla IV's minister and general.

Būtuga, the father of Mārasimha, has been called Ganga-Gangeya or *the Ganga* among the Gangas The Kudlur Plates

61 Sheshagiri Rao, *Studies in S I J* II pp 87-88 *cf* Krishna Rao, op. cit, pp 31-2.

62 See n 32 above Ind. Ant. V p 140.

63 Krishna Rao, loc. cit. pp. 41-45 Rāmaswāmi Aiyangār, *Studies in S I,J.* I, p 110.

64 *Cf*.Ep Car. II, Introd. p. 43, Krishna Rao, loc cit. pp 58-9,

65 Rangāchārya, Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency I, NA 710-A; Madras Epigraphical Report 1889, No. 91.

66 Kudlur Plates of Mārasimha, Mysore Archaeological Report 1921 p. 20,

67 Ibid. p. 21. Rice Coorg Inscriptions, Ep. Car. I, 2.

of Mārasimha, already referred to, state that "this king cleft open the frontal globes of the lordly elephants of the *Ekāntamata* with the thunderbolts the arguments based on the scriptures." His son Marula, brother of Mārasimha, too, is referred to in the pet phrase "his mind resembling a bee at the lotus-feet of Jina "[68] But the doyen of the family was Mārasimha Ganga He was a monarch in every sense of the term, and is described in the inscriptions with many a sonorous title like, "Satyavākya-Konguṇivarma-Dharmamahārājādhirāja, Ganga-cūdāmaṇi, Caladuttaranga, Māndalikatrinetra, Ganga-Vidyādhara, Ganga-kandarpa, Ganga-vajra and Ganga-simha " All these indicate the respect he commanded in his own life-time as well as his position in the whole dynasty, and he seems to have fully deserved all these appellations [69] His grant to the Śamkha-basadi at Laksmeśwar (near Dhārwār) speaks of him as one " who was a very jewelled pitcher wherewith to perpetually besprinkle Jinendra,"[70] and in the Kudlūr Plates he is "a bee in the lotus-feet of Jina, who washed out all taints with the water of the daily bath of Jina, who was devoted to the gurus, who was an expert in grammar, logic, philosophy and literature, who was skilful in the management of horses and elephants, and whose good government was the theme of praise of *the four castes and orders* regulated by his remarkable intellect matured by the investigation of all the *Itihāsas* and *Purānas* "[71] Such a highly cultured prince, crowned his life with the highest sacrifice a Jaina could offer to his faith, *viz* death by *Sallekhana* or slow starvation The inscription that records this great event also states that he performed the anointing ceremony of the Rāstrakūta King, Indra III, thereby indicating his political power [72] Hence, it was no morbid

68 Kudlur Plates of Mārasimha, Mysore Archaeological Report 1921 p. 22
69 Cf Ep. Car. II, Introd. pp. 44-7.
70 Fleet, Ind Ant. VII, V. p. 108.
71 Mysore Archaeological Report, 1921, pp. 22-3.
72 Ep. Car. II, SB 59.

sentimentalist who exhibited this classic example of singular devotion to his faith, and fully evoked the admiration of his contemporaries The result is seen in the erection of the great statue of Gommata by his general Cāundarāya at Śravana Belgoḷa, which is in itself a monument to the zeal of the Jainas during that great age.

Gommata is only the popular name for Bāhubali, son of the first Tirthankara, and in the *Bāhubali-carita* we find the following *śloka* which speaks of Rājamalla or Rācamalla IV, the son and successor of Mārasimha, as the promoter of the Jaina faith .—

श्रीदेशीयगणाब्धिपूर्णमृगभृत् श्रीसिंहनंदिव्रति
श्रीपादांबुजयुग्ममत्तमधुपः सम्यक्त्वचूडामणिः ।
श्रीमज्जैनमताब्धिवर्धनसुधा सूतिर्महीमंडले
रेजे श्रीगुणभूषणो बुधनुतः श्रीराजमल्लो नृपः ॥ [73]

This passage is important also as confirming Simhanandi's connection with the Ganga dynasty The great Ācārya had admonished its early founders with the words, "If you fail in what you promise, if you dissent from the *Jina-Śāsana*, if you are addicted to spirits or flesh, if you associate with the base, if you give not to the needy, if you flee in battle,—your race will go to ruin "[74] We have seen with what great devotion and consistency this high idealism was kept up in the family for generations It affected even the officers working under the Ganga rulers, and a supreme example of this is found in Cāundarāya who, together with Gangarāja, the minister of Visnuvardhana, and Hulla, the minister of Narasimha Hoysala, —is mentioned as forming the triumvirate of pre-eminent promoters of the Jaina faith [75] Cāundarāya's name is associated with the Cāundarāya-basadi or the Jaina temple built by him at Śravaṇa Belgola, with the *Cāundarāya-purāna* which is a

73 *Bāhubali-carita*, V. 6, *Cf* Ghosal, *Dravyasamgraha*, S B. J. I, Introd, p xix.

74 Rice, Mysore Gazetteer I, p. 310.

75 Ep Car II, SB 345, *cf.* ibid. introd. p. 34.

popular epitome of the lives of the twenty-four Tīrthankaras; and above all else with the colossus of Gommata on Indrabetta, also at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. His preceptor Nemicandra wrote a classical work on Jaina doctrine, *viz* the *Dravya-Samgraha*, besides numerous others These will be dealt with later, in the chapter on Jaina literature Suffice it to note here that in a very old illuminated manuscript of *Trilokasāra*, composed by Nemicandra, there is a picture representing Cāundarāya with several courtiers hearing the tenets of Jainism as expounded by that great teacher [76] Cāunda's son had for his preceptor the Jaina Ācārya Ajitaśeṇa As late as 1604 A D, Timmarāja, a descendant of Cāundarāya emulated his great example by erecting the third great Jaina colossus at Yenūr in South Kanara [77] The legacy of the Ganga patronage of Jainism is also indicated by the proud name of Gangarāja, already mentioned, even when their political hegemony had passed on to the Hoysaḷas Gangarāja was a scion of the same illustrious family.

Thus the Age of the Gangas was a memorable one in the history of Jainism in Karnātaka. Its echo is found in several inscriptions which testify to its greatness and general prosperity [78] In one it is stated that Gopanandi caused the Jaina faith to flourish once again "as it did at the time of the Gangas"[79] Another speaks of the "illustrious Gangas"[80] There are also numerous references to their rewards to heroes who bravely fought against cattle-raiders.[81] But their greatest claim to remembrance is in the words of an inscription of Avinīta Ganga "*Able for the protection of the castes and religious orders which prevailed in the South, the friend of all*," which was equally applicable to all the members of the dynasty [82]

76 Ghosal, *Dravyasamgraha*, S.B J I, facsimile facing introd. p xxxix.
77 *Cf.* Ep Car II, introd. pp 19 20, 45 6
78 Ibid., SB 153.
79 Ibid., SB 69.
80 Ep Car II, SB 71.
81 Mysore Archaeological Report, 1923, pp. 53, 73-4, Ibid, 1922, p. 10,
82 Rice, Two Kongu or Chera Grants, Ind. Ant V, p. 140.

PATRONAGE OF JAINISM UNDER THE CALUKYAS

The history of Jainism under the Calukyas is of more than ordinary interest, because these rulers are generally known to have been a wholly Hindu dynasty. But, as a matter of fact, they were like most Hindu rulers tolerant of all other creeds, except in a few cases towards the end of their powerful hegemony over the South By far the most famous monarch of this family was undoubtedly Pulakeśi II, the great contemporary of the great king Harṣavardhana of Kanauj. It was during his reign that Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, visited South India and found Baddhism a generally decadent religion as compared with its more popular rival in the South, Jainism Bhandarkar has noted that while Jainism came into prominence under the Early Calukyas of Bādāmi, there is absolutely no reference to the patronage of Buddhism in any of the Calukya inscriptions.[83] The figure of the king in one of the Buddhist frescoes of Ajanta, hitherto considered as representing Pulakeśi II, is now supposed, by some at least, to be but another representation from the Jātaka stories yet to be identified [84] On the other hand, we get many glimpses of the Jaina religion in the inscriptions of the Calukyas, which reveal their patronage of that faith.[85]

A Jaina inscription at Śravana Belgoḷa speaks of the Jaina teacher Gunacandra as a worshipper at the feet of Mallikāmoda Śāntīśa at Balipura [86] Mallikāmoda being a title of Jayasimha I of the Calukya dynasty, it is reasonably supposed that the Beḷgoḷa inscription represents him [87] If this supposition is true then we have here our first reference to the patronage of Jainism under the Early Calukyas This is greatly supported by the

83 Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 59

84 Masumdar, Embassy of Kaikhosru to Pulakeśi II J I H, II, pp 29 ff, *Guide to Ajanta Frescoes*, I (i).

85 Vaidya, *Mediæval Hindu India I*, pp. 273 74, Ibid. III, p 409.

86 Ep. Car. II, SB 69.

87 Barnett, Nilgunda Plates of Vikramāditya VI, Ep. Ind. XII, p 153, p. 37 *l*. 42.

fact that the same inscription also speaks of another Jaina celebrity, Vasucandra, as having attained fame as 'Bāla-Saraswati' at the Calukya capital Likewise, another epigraph states that Vādirāja, also a Jaina teacher, was honoured by Jayasimha I at whose capital he too won his celebrity [88]

Raṇarāga, son of Jayasimha, and his son Pulakeśi I, both appear to have kept up this tradition of patronage of the Jainas Under the former, Durgāśakti, evidently a Jaina, made a grant to the Śamkha Jinālaya at Puligere (Lakṣmēśwar).[89] The latter endowed a Jaina temple at Ālaktanagara, and the inscription recording this fact states "The lord Satyāśraya in his piety bestowed a field (and) a charter worthy of that shrine of Jina"[90] His successor was Kīrtivarma I, and according to the earliest extant Old Kannada inscription at Dhārwār he too made grants to the Jainas: "Having preferred their request to the supreme lord, (Kīrtivarma) gave (a grant) to the temple of Jinendra for the purpose of providing the oblation and unbroken rice, and perfumes, and flowers, etc"[91] Similarly, another Sanskrit inscription states, "By him, the illustrious one, when requested to augment (the endowments to) the *dānaśāla* etc of the Jinālaya which .. Gāmunda had caused to be built, there was given a field, etc"[92] But of all the Calukya inscriptions that of Pulakeśi II at Aihoḷe is the most famous In it, Ravikīrti, the Jaina poet who composed the inscription, says, "This stone temple of Jinendra which is the abode of glory was caused to be constructed by the learned Ravikīrti, who had acquired the greatest favour of that same *Satyāśraya* whose commands were restrained (only) by the (limits of) the three oceans The accomplished Ravikīrti himself is the composer of this eulogy, and the person who caused the temple to

88 *Cf* Ep Car II, Introd, p. 41.
89 Fleet, *S. and O, C Inscriptions*, Ind Ant, VII, p. 110.
90 Ibid p 215, *Cf. Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p 20
91 Fleet, Ind, Ant, XI, p 7'.
92 Ibid.

Aihole Temple with Jaina Grant converted to Saiva *(Vide page 22)*

be built "[93] There is also a Jaina cave towards the eastern end of the South face of the Mêguti temple where this,inscription is found, and Fleet observes that "as has been the case with most of the Jaina temples of these parts, it seems to have been afterwards adopted to the purposes of Linga worship "[94] This conversion to Śaiva use was the outcome of the Hindu revivalist movement, which, as in the case of the Tamils, was growing strong as years rolled on We witness the same Hindu reaction in the territory ruled over by the Calukyas as well Still, the Calukyas for a long time appear to have continued their patronage of Jainism, no less than that of other creeds, thereby justifying the proud title of *Satyāśraya* or 'Anchor of Truth, borne by several among them

Jayasimha II is thus stated to have even had for his spiritual preceptor a Jaina teacher named Niravadya Pandita [95] And an inscription of Vijayāditya tells us that this king made a grant to Udayadeva Pandita, or Niravadya Pandita who was the house-pupil of Śri Pūjyapāda and belonged to the Devagaṇa division of the Mūlasamgha [96] Commenting on this passage Dr Bhandarkar observes, "If the Pūjyapāda who was the preceptor of Niravadya Pandita was the famous grammarian of that name, he must have flourished sometime before 618 Śaka, the date of Vinayāditya's death, *i e* about 600 Śaka or 678 A D All that is known about Pūjyapāda and his relations to other Digambara writers is not inconsistent with this date "[97] Vijayāditya's son Vikramāditya II, also repaired a Jaina temple and gave a grant to the Jaina Ācārya Vijayadeva Pandita "Having embellished the Śankhatīrtha Jinālaya of Pulikara and repaired the white Jinālaya at the request of the merchant Bāhubali, which was made *for the purpose of increasing the worship of Jina,*'

93 Aihole Inscription of Pulakesi II, Ibid VIII, p. 245

94 Ibid., p. 237.

95 Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 59, Bom. Gaz. I ii, p. 191,

96 Fleet, *S. and O. C. Inscriptions*, Ind. Ant. VII, p. 112,

97 Bhāndārkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 59,

Vikramāditya gave the grant to "Śrī Vijayadeva Panditācārya who belonged to the sect of Devagana of Mūlasamgha, the disciple of Rāmadevācārya who performed the most austere penances, who was the house-pupil of Jayadeva Pandita"[98] But it is strange that *this Jaina grant contains an invocation to Viṣṇu,* in obvious deference, of course, to the family god and symbol of the Calukyas. It says, "Victorious is the boar-like form that was manifested of Visnu which agitated the ocean and which had the earth resting on the tip of his uplifted right-hand tusk"[99]

Under Vikramāditya's successor, Kīrtivarma II, the Calukyas were defeated and dispossessed by the Rāstrakūtas In the obscurity that surrounds the succeeding career of the Calukyas we still find them consistent in their attitude towards the Jainas For, from a Rāṣṭrakūta inscription of Govinda III we learn that Vimalāditya Calukya, son of Yaśovarman and grandson of Balavarman, made a grant to a Jaina temple in order to ward off the evil influence of Saturn It is also stated that this was done at the instance of the donor's uncle Cākirāja of the Ganga family.[100] We have already indicated the hold that Jainism had over the Gangas, and this inscription reveals the influence they must have exercised over neighbouring princes in the matter of religious belief. Who exactly were these Calukya princes it is not easy to determine Bhandarkar and Rice thought that they must have belonged to an independent branch of the main family of Calukyas[101] The former also mentions, in this connection, that another branch of Calukyas ruled from Jola named by Pampa in his *Jaina Bhārata*, Arikesari appears to have been the patron of the poet[102] Mr E. P. Rice observes that Pampa was "apparently also a general

98 Fleet, *S. and O. C Inscriptions,* Ind. Ant. VII, p. 111.

99 Ibid., p. 110.

100 Rice, A Rāṣtrakūta Grant from Mysore, Ind. Ant XII, p. 18

101 Ibid. p 12; Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p 79.

102 Ibid, pp. 79–80.

or minister under Arikesari, who was a descendant of the early Calukya Kings, but at this time was a tributory of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas" He further adds, "Arikesari's court was at Puligere (Lakṣmeśwar), and it is in the especially excellent Kanarese of this capital that the poet claims to write" The date of the *Jaina* or *Pampa Bhārata* is given as 941 A.D.[103]

The Rāṣṭrakūta domination lasted for a little over two centuries, from 754–974 A. D[104] They too were, some of them, great patrons of Jainism, as we shall see in the next chapter. But for the sake of continuity of our treatment of the Calukyas and their relationship with Jainism, it is better that we trace the history of the family to its very close It is rather difficult to account for the sudden revolution in the religious policy of the Calukyas when their power was again restored by Tailapa II about 974 A D It is alleged that the Cālukya rulers beginning with Tailapa II persecuted the Jainas[105] But it was possible that this was due more to political causes rather than to religious. Day by day the Śaiva opposition to Jainism was growing strong in the country The Rāstrakūtas were undoubtedly patrons of Jainism Hence, as in the case of the Colas about the time of Sundara Pāndya's conversion, it was easy to mix up religion with politics, and Śaivism, in its dynamic condition, was a ready handmaid for the politically ambitious and revolutionary Cālukyas The story is an exact replica of that told about the conversion of the Pāndya king It is related of Jayasimha III, grandson of Tailapa, that he was converted to the Vīra-Śaiva creed owing to the influence of his wife Suggaladevi Thenceforth he is supposed to have persecuted the Jainas The *Basava Purāna* states that Hottalakere or Pottalakere contained as many as seven hundred basadis or Jaina temples and 20,000 Jaina ascetics Devara-Dāsimayya the *guru* of Suggaladevi, wife of Desinga, despoiled the Śrāvakas and induced Desinga to

103 Rice (E. P), *Kanarese Literature*, p 30.
104 Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 395.
105 *Cf.* Vaidya, *Mediaeval Hindu India*, III, p. 402.

adopt the Śaiva or Lingāyat religion. The same story is also repeated in a slightly varied form in the *Chenna Basava Purāṇa* as well. Fleet thinks that Desinga is a corruption for Jayasimha and identifies the monarch with Jayasimha III Cālukya.[106] Our belief as to the political character of these alleged persecutions, so far as the Cālukyas themselves were concerned, is further supported by the fact that in championing the cause of Śaivism they were acting contrary to the traditions of their own ancient family For, the Cālukyas from the beginning belonged to the Vaiṣṇava and not the Śaiva sect of Hinduism They had a boar-crest which they "acquired through the favour of the divine Nārāyaṇa"[107] Moreover, like the later Colas, the later rulers of this Cālukya family renewed their patronage of Jainism when they were well established It is stated in an inscription at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa that the Jaina teacher Swāmi won the title of "*Śabda-Caturmukha*" at the hands of King Āhavamalla who is identified with Cālukya Someśwara I[108] However, when the same prince made a grant to the Jainas, it seems, he had to make a special appeal to the villagers, showing thereby that Jainism must have by this time become unpopular among the masses.[109]

The anti-Jaina movement had spread like wild-fire in the entire peninsula The Colas, its champions in the South, had grown so strong that they appear to have over-run the Cālukya territory under Someśwara I It is stated that they destroyed the Jaina temples at Puligere or Lakṣmeśwar, built by Permādi Ganga The inscription relates, "The excellent temples which Permādi Ganga had constructed, the outcaste Pondi Cola destroyed and descended to *adhogati* (hell)" * Under Some-

106 Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 44 n. 2

107 Fleet, Kalachumbarru Grant of Amma II, Ep. Ind VII, p. 189 · *Cf* S and O. C Inscriptions, Ind. Ant. X, p. 57, VII, p. 110, see illustration. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p. 201.

108 Ep. Car II, SB 67, *cf* Ibid. Introd., p. 48.

* Elliot, Hindu Inscriptions, J.R.A.S. IV, p. 14.

śwara II a Jaina feudatory of his reconstructed these temples.[110] Evidently Jainism had not been worsted. It gathered up all its strength and made a final stand under Bijjala Kalacūri whose career we shall trace in the next chapter But something must be said about another branch of the Cālukyas which ruled from Vengi, on the East Coast, before we take final leave of them. They are usually known as the Eastern Cālukyas, as distinguished from the Western Cālukyas of Kalyāṇi. That some at least among them shared the tolerant attitude of the Cālukya family as a whole becomes evident from the following extract from the Epigraphical Report of Madras —

> "Viṣṇuvardhana III of the Eastern Cālukya dynasty made a grant in Ś. 684 which registers evidently the renewal of an earlier grant of the village Musinikunda in Tonka N(ā)ta-v(ā)di-vishaya to the (Jaina) teacher Kalibhadrācārya. The Queen of the King Kubja-Visnuvardhana I influenced the grant of a village to a Jaina *basti* at Bījavādā Amma II has made grants to Jaina temples patronised the grant of a Jaina *Śrāvaki* by lending his title to a charitable Jaina feeding house called Sarvalokāśraya-Jina-Bhavana endowed by her "[111]

From the Kalachumbārra grant of Amma II, the Jaina *śrāvaki* named in the above passage appears to have been a courtesan Her name was Cāmeka She is described as "a favourite mistress of the King", [112] "an ornament of the Paṭṭavardhikā lineage in the retinue of the Cālukyas", a sun to the waterlilies the faces of courtesans who agitates herself in acquiring fame as radiant as that of a *moon to bring to full-tide the waters of the Jaina religion*", and is said to have been "endowed with charity and tenderness and good character, and is beautiful and is a desciple who delights in the teachings of the learned people"

110 Ibid p. 13; Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p, 48, Bom. Gaz. I ii. p, 443,

111 Cited by Sheshagiri Rao, *Studies in S, I J, II*, pp. 20–25.

112 Fleet, Kalachumbārru Grant of Amma II, Ep Ind, VII p 182 & n, 4

The grant was "caused to be given" by her to Arhanandi, "for the purposes of the renowned dining hall of the holy and famous Jaina temple called Sarvalokāśraya-Jaina-Bhavana, whereby she has acquired a reputation praised by learned people" [113] The sect of Jainas to which she belonged is stated to be "the *Addakali-gachcha* which has established its renowned fame in the *Valahari-gana*, and the minds of the members of which have their desires bent on granting excellent food to ascetics of the four castes" [114] Further, interesting details revealed by the grant are the names of the *gurus* like Sakalacandrasiddhānta, Ayyapoti etc, and the composer of the poetical portions of it is said to be *Kavicakravarti* The writer of the grant was Bhattadeva, and the Ājñāpati or Superintendent was the *Kaṭṭakādhīśa* [115] The reward that Bhattadeva got for his work is mentioned as land requiring as seed nine puttis of twelve *tumus* (each), and two bullocks [116] But more important than anything else is the statement that Vijayāditya (Amma II) "who was most kind to Brāhmanas", made the grant to the Jainas [117] The Maliyapundi Grant of Ammarāja II is another evidence in confirmation of his charities to the Jainas It significantly opens with an invocation to Jinendra [118] Then, giving the whole genealogy of the king, proceeds "The *Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara*, the very pious Ammaraja (II) thus commands all ryots, headed by the *Rāshtrakūtas*, inhabiting the district (*visaya*) Kamma-nādu" The grant was made to Durgarāja, "whose sword always (served) only for the protection of the fortune of Cālukyas, and whose renowned family (served) for the support of the excellent great country *mandala*) called Vengi," for the "very charming excellent temple of Jina (Jinālaya)

113 Ibid., p 191, vv. 14-15.
114 Ibid, v. 13
115 *Cf* Hultzsch, Malayapundi Grant of Ammarāja II, Ep. Ind. IX, p. 50.
116 Fleet, Kalachumbārru Grant of Amma II, ibid. VII, pp. 185, 191-92.
117 Ibid., p 191-92, v. 20 LL 72-78.
118 Hultzsch, Maliyapundi Grant of Ammarāja II, Ibid IX, p 50 v. 1. LL 1-3.

founded by him, an abode of merit, and marked with the auspicious name of Kaṭakābharaṇa. The temple was superintended by Śrīmandiradeva, disciple of Divākara who belonged to the "pure and worthy *Nandi-gachcha* of the *Yāpanīya-Samgha*." The grant was the outcome of a request from *Kaṭakarāja* "for the cost of repairs of breaks and cracks, offerings, worship etc., and of an alms-house (sattra),.... with exemption from all taxes, with libations of water [119] Thus we see, that the Cālukyas, of whatever branch or age, were consistently patrons of Jainism, the only exceptions being Taila II and his immediate successors, who acted under stress of political expediency rather than avowed religious bias

RĀṢṬRAKŪṬAS[120] AND THE KALACURIS: A PERIOD OF SHARP CONFLICTS

The Age of the Rāstrakūtas (754-974 A D) was a period of great activity among the Jainas of the Deccan and the Kannada country This was immediately followed by a Śaiva reaction under Taila II and his immediate successors of the Cālukya dynasty, noticed in the last chapter From Someśwara I, as we saw above, there was a revival in the patronage of Jainism by the Cālukyas Under Someśwara IV, Cālukya power was temporarily brought to an end by the revolution created by Bijjala of the Kalacūri family The last named was an enthusiastic supporter of the Jaina faith, but the power established by him did not last for more than two decades after his usurpation (1162-1183 A D) [121] The fall of the Kalacūris was the final blow given to Jainism in the Deccan The struggle had commenced much earlier and we get a lively picture of it in the

119 Ibid., p. 56 vv. 16-20 and L. 53.

120 The Raṣṭrākūtas of Malkhed having been a Kannada dynasty has been established by Dr. Altekar in the *Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times*, pp 21-25

121 Smith, *Early History of India*, p 395

Yaśastilaka-campu written by Somadeva about 959 A.D.[122] This religious conflict, in the words of Peterson, "drew towards it the attention and well nigh absorbed the intellectual energies of all thinking men"[123]

Amoghavarṣa I was by far the greatest royal patron of Jainism in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty But he was by no means alone His father Govinda III had made a grant to the Jaina teacher Arkīrti, desciple of Vijayakīrti, for removing the evil influence of Saturn from Vimalāditya of the Cālukya family noticed in the last chapter.[124] His brother Kamba, too, appears to have given a village to the Jaina teacher Vardhamāna[125] And Jinasena's *Harivamśa-purāna* makes it evident that it was composed under Śrivallabha, father of Govinda III[126] The *Harivamśa* is one of the earliest Jaina versions of the *Mahābhārata*[127] According to the *Kathākośa* of the Digambaras, Akalanka was the son of King Śubhatunga whose capital was Mānyakheta[128] This was a title of Kṛsna I, and Mānyakheta was the capital of the Rāstrakūtas But this is a mere tradition and the identity of the persons is by no means easy to establish. However, in the light of our knowledge of the galaxy of great writers who lived about this time, the tradition is not without its value. The *Akalanka-carita* or the traditional biography of Akalanka states that he was the son of Puruṣottama, minister of Śubhatunga, and an inscription at Śravana Belgola also alludes to Akalanka's challenge to the pandits at the court of Śubhatunga He is supposed to have belonged to the *Deva-Samgha* of Mānyakheta[129] From all these it becomes clear that Akalanka must have had some intimate connection with the

122 Peterson, Report on San. MSS IV, p. 33,
123 Ibid.
124 Rice, A Rāṣṭrakūta Grant from Mysore, Ind. Ant. XII, p. 18
125 *Cf.* Ep Car II, Introd, p 47.
126 Peterson, Report on San, MSS IV, pp 167-77, Rājendralāl Mitra, Notices of San MSS VI, pp. 74 79.
127 Mainly deals with the Jaina version of the Kṛṣna legend.
128 Peterson, Report on S.n, MSS IV, p. 79.
129 Nāthuram Premi, *Vidvadratnamālā* I, pp 23-4. Also E C. II (p).

Rāṣṭrakūṭa king so persistently named, and it is possible that he lived at the court of Kṛṣṇa I in the eighth century A. D. as suggested by Mr Hiralal [130]

In the opening verses of the *Ganitasārasamgraha* by Mahāvīrācārya it is stated that it was written under Amoghavarṣa I (c. 815 A. D). It is supposed that the author might have been one of the court poets. [131] The *Jayadhavala-tīkā*, one of the rarest Jaina works, was composed by Vīrasenācārya at about the same time Its concluding portion is attributed to Jinasena who also commenced the *Ādipurāna* under Amoghavarṣa I. [132] The author calls himself the *Parama-guru* or chief preceptor of Amoghavarsa, and the *Uttara-purāna*, the sequel to the *Ādi-purāna*, confirms the fact by stating,

यस्य प्रांशुनखांशुजालविसरद्धारान्तराविर्भव-
त्पादाम्भोजरज पिशंग मुकुटप्रत्यग्ररत्नद्युतिः।
संस्मर्ता स्वममोघवर्षनृपति. पूतोऽहमद्येत्यलम्
स श्रीमान् जिनसेनपूज्यभगवत्पादो जगन्मंगलम् ॥

Amoghavarsa prostrated himself before Jinaṣeṇa and thought himself purified thereby [133] In his *Pārśvābhyudaya* Jinasena blesses his royal pupil and wishes that he might reign long [134] But more interesting than anything else is the composition of the *Ratnamālikā* or more fully *Praśnottara-Ratnamālikā* attributed to Amoghavarṣa's own authorship [135] It is the 'gem-chaplet of questions and answers' on Jaina ethics, and Guṇabhadra, the co-pupil of Amoghavarṣa relates

130 Hiralal, Cat of MSS in C P and Berar, Introd , pp xxvi–viii, Peterson, Report on San. MSS IV, p 79. *Cf.* B O R I, XIII, ii, p 164, and *Nyāya-kumadacandra*, Introd, p 105 (Bombay 1938).

131 Bhandārkar, Bom, Gaz, I ii, pp. 200-201; Hirālāl, Cat, of MSS, in C. P. and Berār, Introd,, p. XXIV.

132 Ibid, p XXIII.

133 Nāthuram Premi, *Vidvadratnamālā* I, p. 79, Bhandārkar, Bom, Gaz, I ii, p. 407, Pāthak, JBBRAS XVIII, p. 224.

134 Bhandārkar, Early History of the Dekkan, p 68 n 3

135 Ibid., p. 69. Bom Gaz. I ii, pp. 200-201
cf, Altekar, op. Cit, p 89

विवेकात्त्यक्तराज्येन राज्ञेयं रत्नमालिका ।
रचितामोघवर्षेण सुधियां सदलंकृतिः ॥

It means, the wise Amoghavarṣa in his wisdom composed this *Ratnamālika* having renounced his kingdom,[136] and Dr Bhandārkar observes that this event is easily believable as, otherwise, the dates of the Saundatti inscription of Kṛṣṇarāja II (Śaka 797) and the Kanheri Inscription of Amoghavarṣa I (Śaka 799) become irreconcilable The latter grant must have been made about two years after Amoghavarsa's abdication. He adds, "Of all the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Amoghavarsa was the greatest patron of Jainism, and that he himself adopted the Jaina faith seems true "[137] Dr Altekar, however has since shown how Amoghavarṣa did not altogether renounce Hinduism [137 a]

Under these circumstances, it seems surprising that the son and immediate successor of Amoghavarṣa should have been an ardent devotee of the Śaiva faith [138] But it is not altogether strange, in India, where, for the most part, people have enjoyed the plenitude of religious freedom The Kailāsa temple at Ellora is a monument to Śaiva zeal no less than the bold conceptions of the Hindu architect Yet its breadth of outlook and atmosphere of toleration is visible both in the sculptures on its walls and in the existence, side by side, of Buddhist, Brāhmanical and Jaina caves and shrines in wonderful proximity. Still, in the fierce glow of the contemporary struggle between Jainism and Brāhmanism, Kṛṣṇa's enthusiasm for the Śaivas must have been looked upon with suspicion by the Jainas. Hence, we find that Gunabhadra completed his *Uttarapurāna*, the sequel to the *Ādipurāna* of Jinasena, not at the Rāshrakūta capital, where it had been commenced under Amoghavarṣa I, but at Bankāpura the head quaters of

136 Nāthuram Premi *Vidvadratnamālā* I p 80, *cf* Bhandārkar, Report on San MSS 1883-84, Notes p 121, n. 1 18.
137 Bom. Gaz I 88, p 2 1.
137*a* Alteker, op cit., p. 88.
138 Bhandārkar, The Rāshrakūta King Krishnarāja and Elāpura Ind. Ant. XII, p 229, Early History of the Dekkan, p. 64 n 2.

Lokāditya, a Jaina feudatory of Kṛṣṇa II. It is said of Lokāditya that he ruled the province of Vanavāsa (Banavāsê, Dhārwār District) "and encouraged the spread of Jainism[139] Like him there were other minor rulers and merchants who patronised the Jainas even when their over-lord Kṛṣna II was known for his Śaiva learnings. Pṛthvirāma's grant to the Jaina temple at Saundatti in the year of Krsna II's accession to the throne (Śaka 797),[140] and an inscription (of Śaka 824) in the Jaina temple at Mulgunda (Dhārwār District) make this perfectly certain[141]

There was once again a reaction under Kṛsna III of whose patronage of Jainism there are some evidences He married a Ganga princess, who came from a Jaina family, and her son Indra IV only showed the influence of heredity when he died by the traditional Jaina vow of *Sallekhana*[142a] This event is recorded in an inscription at Śravana Beḷgola and appears to have taken place in its sacred atmosphere sanctified by memories of numerous sacrifices[142] Puspadanta's *Mahāpurāna* describes the poet as lying in a garden at Mānyakheta, when he was picked up and honoured by the King Śubhatunga and his minister who induced him to live at the palace His famous *Yaśodhara Kāvya* and *Nāga-Kumāra-Carita* appear to have been composed at the request of the King's son Nanna, probably identical with Indra IV It is also an interesting commentary on the times to note that Puspadanta was himself a Śaiva to begin with, but became a Jaina owing to the influence of a Jaina ascetic Śubhatunga referred to by him is identical with Kṛṣna III[143] Similarly, another Jaina writer, Indranandi by name, also appears to have

139 Bhandārkar, Report on San, MSS 1883-84, pp. 120-21, Nāthuram Premi, *Vidvadratnamālā* I, p 20.

140 *cf* Bhandārkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p 69 JBBRAS X, p 192

141 Ibid, p 19.

142 Ep Car II, S B. 133, *cf* Ibid, Introd pp 47-8

142a Altekar, op. cit Introd. pp. 47-8

143 Hirālāl, Cat. of MSS. in C. P and Berar, Introd. pp xliii-vi.

composed his *Jvālāmālini-stotra* at Mānyakheta when Kṛṣṇa III was ruling, in Śaka 861. But more interesting than anything else composed by the Jainas, under Kṛṣṇa III, is the *Yaśastilaka-campu* written by Somadeva already referred to Once again, in the words of Peterson, "It represents a lively picture of India at a time when the Buddhist, Jaina and Brāhmanical religions were still engaged in a contest that drew towards it the attention and well nigh absorbed the intellectual energies of all thinking men "[144] After Kṛṣṇa came Indra IV whose death by *Sallekhana* has already been referred to The inscription recording this also alludes to Indra's skill in playing polo [145] It was in all respects an age rich in culture and the contributions of Jainism to it will be more fully dealt with later

The last of the Rāṣtrakūtas was Kokka II who was overthrown by Taila II of the Cālukya family in 973 A D We have traced the subsequent history of the Cālukyas down to Someśwara IV, under whom Bijjaḷa established the Kalacūri Interregnum about 1162 A D Within twenty years of this the Cālukyas were once again restored to power but they could not continue enjoying it for long After 1190 A D they sank into the position of petty chiefs, most of their possessions passing into the hands of new dynasties, the Yādavas of Devagiri and the Hoysaḷas of Dwārasamudra. The brief period during which the Kalacūris occupied the Cālukya throne was marked by the rise of the Vīraśhaiva or Lingāyat movement, perhaps the fiercest attack ever delivered on Jainism as well as Brāhmanism.[146]

The religious condition of the country at this time is noteworthy In the words of Elliot, "most of the princes (under Someśwara IV) seem to have been votaries of Śiva .. .But

144 Peterson, Report on San, MSS IV p. 88.
145 Ep, Car II, SB 183; *Cf* ibid. Introd,, pp 47-8
146 Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, pp 202-3; *Early History of India*, p. 895.

at the same time the most perfect toleration seems to have been extended to all other creeds. Both the Jaina and the Buddha faiths were openly professed, *the former to a great extent,—a considerable portion of the inscriptions recording grants to temples of that persuasion.*" He continues, "These varieties of faith and this general toleration, are the more remarkable from the spirit of religious hatred and persecution which was soon after aroused.[147] According to Fleet, Jainism was a popular sect under Bijjaḷa when Basava established the Lingāyat form of Śaivism.[148] And alone among the patrons of Jainism in South India, the Kalacūri grants have a sitting Tīrthankara with his usual attendants, etc.[149] But, in keeping with the tradition of most Indian rulers, and consistently with the principles of his own Jaina religion, Bijjala appears to have favoured the Vīra-Śaivas, at whose hands he was soon to meet with a violent death. In a contest between the Lingāyats and Jainas at Ablūr (near Dhārwār), in the year Śaka 1089, Bijjaḷa gave a decision in favour of the former and even rewarded their leader Ekāntada Rāmayya.[150] Bijjaḷa's successor, Someśwara, similarly made a grant to a Brāhmana temple at Belgaum.[151]

The traditional account of the life of Basava, the founder of Vīra-Śaivism or Lingāyatism is given in Bhima-Kavi's *Basava-Purāna*.[152] Having heard from Nārada that Śaivism was on a decline on the earth Śiva resolved upon sending Nandi his vehicle to the mortals to reform and reclaim them to the true religion they had forsaken. Nandi incarnated himself as

147 Elliot, Hindu Inscription, J. R. A S IV (1836), pp 18–19.

148 Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* p 60

149 Elliot, Hindu Inscriptions J. R. A S IV, p. 12.

150 Ibid, p. 17, Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, *Contribution*, p 255

151 Cf Bhāndārkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p 95

152 An English rendering of the *Basava Purāṇa* is published by Rev G. Würth, J B Br. R. A S. Vol. VIII. pp. 65–98 and of the *Canna Basava Purāṇa* at pp 98–222 of the same Volume.

Basava, born of Mādirāja and his wife Mādalāmbikā at Ingaleśwara Bagewadi (now in Bijapur district) Śiva himself had initiated him when he was in his mother's womb Though born in a Brāhmin family Basava refused to be invested with a sacred thread, on the ground that he had already been intitiated into the Vīra-Śaiva *dīksā* He then left his home with his sister Nāgalāmbikā and was looked after by Śaiva devotees of the place. Baladeva, Basava's maternal uncle and treasurer (Bhaṇḍāri) at the Court of Bijjala in Kalyāna, who had come for the ceremony, was struck by the singular wisdom and piety of Basava and gave him his daughter Gangādevi in marriage [153] After this Basava went to Kappadi Sangameśwara where, as he was devoutly praying, Sangameśwara revealed himself to him and said, " We have heard of thy devotion Persevere in the steady observance of the true religion, consider those that wear the symbol of Śiva as Śiva incarnate Though they abuse and beat thee, prostrate thyself before them Treat as friends even thy enemies, if they are Vīra-śaivas Punish them who abuse the followers of Śiva Thou shalt not desire another man's wife, nor his property The organs of sense shall not obey the lusts of the heart Know that the Jangama is I " [154]

Sometime after, Baladeva died and Bijjala, was advised that Basava would be a worthy successor, appointed him in Baladeva's place When he was in Bijjala's Court, a scroll is said to have fallen from the sky, which no one in Bijjala's Court was able to decipher Basava deciphered it and said that it contained a message that a large treasure would be found underneath Bijjaḷa's throne The treasure was accordingly found, and thereon Bijjala bestowed great honours on Basava [155]

While in office Basava greatly honoured the Jangamas who came to Kalyāṇa in great numbers Bijjaḷa received informa-

153 *Basava Purāṇa, Sandhis* 1-3 , Würth, *Basava Purāṇa* op. cit. pp. 66 67
154 *Basava Purāṇa Sandhi* 4 *Verses* 61-67 , Worth, op. cit. p. 68
155 *Basava Purāṇa Sandhi* 5 , Würth, op. cit. p. 60.

tion that Basava was wasting the Royal treasury to feed the Jangamas and he scolded Basava But after a while they were reconciled to each other [156] The Vīraśaiva faith steadily gained ground and the Brāhmin and Jaina faiths suffered Meanwhile, an incident happened which ultimately led to Bijjaḷa's death Madhuvayya a Brāhmin convert to Vīraśaivism gave his daughter in marriage to the son of Hollayya who was an untouchable by birth. Bijjaḷa was furious and he had the eyes of both pulled out One Jagadeva killed the king at the instance of Basava who in the meanwhile had gone to Sangameśwara where, with a large number of Śaivas he was absorbed in Sangamanāth [157] The *Basava Purāna* says —

"As the whirlwind arises from the earth and is lost in it

"As the fourth is produced in the churned milk and subsides in to it,

"As the forked lightening has its origin on the sky and retires into it,

"So Basava rose out of the guru, grew by his assistance

"And at last was united to him in everlasting rest"

The mantle of leadership then descended upon Canna Basava, but the capital (Kalyāni) having become too hot for the Lingāyats, they had to "pursue their religion out of the reach of the Royal arms" [158]

Dr Krishnaswami Aiyangar has observed that early epigraphical evidence lends support to another origin of Vīraśaivism (*i e* Lingāyatism), *viz*, under a Brāhmana named Ekāntada Rāmayya [159] In fact, the Āblūr inscription is the only lithic reference we have with regard to the leader of the Lingāyat move-

156 Würth, *Basava Purāṇa*, pp 77-78.

157 *Basava Purāna* 61st Sandhi, Wurth *Basava Purāna* op. cit. pp 96-97.

158 Krishnaswami Aiyangar *Contributions* pp 243-49.

159 *Ibid*, pp. 254 257.

ment; and the Brahmeśwara temple at Āblūr is said to contain sculptures representing Rāmayya in the act of performing a miracle. "It is possible," says Dr Krishnaswami Aiyangar, "that Rāmayya preceded the two Basavas by a short period as Bijjaḷa is referred to in the record, not as a ruler, but only as a governor or Mahāmandaleśwara"[160] The *Canna Basava Purāṇa* gives an account of the miracles performed by this Ekāntada Ramayya.

It is not necessary to trace the course of the Vīra-Śaiva movement here in detail It is evident that in the period under review the rise of Vīra-Śaivism was largely responsible for the decline of Jainism By it the trading and agricultural classes who were the backbone of Jainism were converted to Vīra-Śaivism, and Jaina idols were replaced by Śaiva ones[161] The best days of the Jainas in the Deccan were over.[162] It only remains for us to trace the last phase of Jainism under the Hoysalas and the languishing sequel of its long history Even the South was not immune from the iconoclastic zeal of the Moslems who followed in the wake of the Yādavas of Devagiri There is in the fort of Doulatābād a mosque built by Aurangzeb out of the ruins of what appears to have been originally a Jaina temple The images of Tīrthankaras carelessly built into the sides of neighbouring walls bear out this supposition Since the Kalacūris were the last dynasty in the Deccan of whose patronage of Jainism we have any evidence, it is natural to conclude that these vestiges are a survival of their age

160 Bhāndārkar, Bom. Gaz. I ii, p 483 n 1.

161 Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Contributions*, p 256

162 Bhāndārkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 96.

163 *Cf* Rāmaswamy. Aiyangar, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, 1, p. 113.

JAINISM UNDER THE HOYSALA VIJAYANAGAR AND MYSORE RULERS

I

Hemmed in on all sides by the rising tide of re-awakned Hinduism, Jainism sought its last refuge in the cradle of its childhood, *viz*, Mysore Hear for a time it found the patronage of the Hoysalas, but only for a time The entry of Rāmānuja, as an axile from the Śaiva domination in the Coḷa kingdom, brought in its wake the conversion of Biṭṭideva to Vaisṇavism Thenceforward the most famous of the Hoysaḷa family, Biṭṭideva came to be known as Viṣnuvardhana or "the promoter of the Vaiṣṇava doctrine." The story of his conversion from Jainism is a very fascinating one But we must start with his predecessors in order to have a connected view of Jainism under the patronage of the Hoysaḷas

The Hoysaḷas were an indigenous family of rulers in Mysore They rose to power and prominence by taking advantage of the political rivalry between their Southern and Northern neighbours, *viz*, the Colas and the Cālukyas[165] The traditional account of their ascendancy is to be found in an inscription at Śravana Beḷgoḷa[166] It is significant to note that Vinayāditya, the first historical ruler of this dynasty, had for his preceptor the Jaina teacher Śāntideva[167] Epigraphic evidence points to Vinayāditya's construction of many tanks, temples, and villages[168] He appears to have been a feudatory under Vikramāditya VI of the Cālukya dynasty. His son and successor Ereyanga is described as "the right arm of the Cālukyas,"

165 *Cf.* Krishnaswāmi Aiyangar *Ancient India*, pp. 80, 256. The extension of Cola dominion over Mysore is still testified to by 'Colana-haḷḷi' or 'the village of Chola' near S'ravana Beḷgoḷa

166 Ep. Car, II, SB 132 Read Saletore, *Med Jainism*, pp. 62-79

167 Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 65, Ep Car. II Introd. p. 49

168 Ibid, SB 148,

"Yama incarnate," and "destroyer of the city of Dhārā belonging to the Mālava King" The epigraphs which speak of him thus also tell us of his having put to flight the fierce Choḷa army and ruined Kalinga [169] When due allowance is made for all exaggerations, these inscriptions truly indicate the dynamic power of the Hoysalas at this time, and their power meant also power of the Jaina religion patronised by them

Biṭṭideva was the son of Ereyanga He came to the throne about 1109 A D His exploits, power, and influence are indicated by several inscriptions at Belgola [170] But the outstanding event of his reign was his conversion by Rāmānuja At the time of this apostle's visit, the actual ruler of Mysore appears to have been Bittideva's brother who is spoken of as a worshipper of 'Īśa' It does not seem likely that it is a reference to Śiva, for 'Īśa' is a common suffix to Jaina names like Jineśa, Śāntīśa etc and simply means Lord Bittideva was himself an ardent follower of the Jaina creed Buchanan states that, like his ancestors Ballala Rāya (Visnuvardhana) was a worshipper of Jina, and adds that at his capital were seven hundred temples dedicated to that God [171] The story of Bittideva's conversion is not unlike others of its kind As in the case of Sambandar's conversion of Sundara Pāndya, Rāmānuja is here supposed to have worked a miracle Bittideva's daughter was possessed with the devil His Jaina Ācāryas and Pandits were unable to do anything Rāmānuja succeeded where his rivals had failed The result was Bittideva's change of faith Jaina tradition however, represents this as the outcome of the machinations of courtesans sent by Rāmānuja [172] After this it is alleged, as usual, that the new convert under the instigation of Rāmānuja persecuted the Jainas who are said to have been ground in oil-mills Dr Krishnaswāmi Aiyangar explains this as meaning

169 Ibid, SB 327, 345 and 349
170 Ibid., SB. 132, 143, 327, 345, 349 and 384
171 Buchanan, Travels II ch. vii, p 80.
172 *Vishnuvardhana Carітre*, pp 6-9.

"the oil mills of logic."[173] The inscriptions also indicate that Viṣṇuvardhana could not have persecuted his erstwhile co-religionists A few facts will easily bear out this observation

In the first place, the coversion of Bittideva did not lead to the conversion of his queen even Śāntaladevi continued to make grants to the Jainas *with* the royal permission, even after this event[174] Secondly, Gangarāja, his minister and general, considered as one of the three pre-eminent promoters of Jainism in the South, continued to enjoy the favour of Viṣṇuvardhana He endowed and repaired Jaina temples and protected priests and images He built an enclosure round the colossus on Indra-Betta, which probably needed such protection from the attacks of sectarian fanatics Says an inscription at Belūr, "Whatever else might be said, the myriads of ruined Jaina temples restored and built again, and the many ways in which his unbounded gifts were made, caused the Gangavādi 96,000 to shine like Kopana through Ganganātha[175] And more than anything else, seven years after Rāmanuja had left Mysore (*i e.* in 1125 A D) Visnuvardhana himself made a grant to the noted Jaina controversialist Śrī-Bāla Tārkikacakravarti[176] Similarly, when Gangarāja died, and his son erected to his memory the Drohagharaṭṭa Jinālaya at Halebīd, Visnuvardhana signified his respect towards it saying, "By the merit of the consecration of this God (Pārśvanātha) I have obtained both a victory and the brith of a son, and have been filled with joy " Thereupon he give to the God the name of Vijaya-Pārśva and to his son Vijaya-Narasimha-Deva The former showed his deference to Jainism and the latter his adherence to the new creed of Vaiṣṇvism[177]

173 Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 207–08 , *cf.* Buchanan *Travels*, II ch vii, pp. 80–81.

174 Ep Car II, SB 73 and 75.

175 Ibid., V, Belūr 124 , IV Ng. 32 , II SB 240 , *cf.* ibid. Introd , p. 59,

176 *Cf* Krishnaswāmi Aiyangār, *Ancient India*, p. 239,

177 Ep. Car. V, Belur 124.

This was certainly an age of great toleration, at any rate among the enlightened people. The example of Viṣṇuvardhana was followed by many others His queen Śāntaladevi, while still adhering to her Jaina faith, granted to 220 Brāhmaṇas a village near Hāssan which she had received from her hasband.[178] The great Śaiva temple at Halébid, built by Kêtamalla, a rich Śaiva merchant, was dedicated to the tolerent king and called after him, — Visnuvardhana Hoysalêśwara Temple, which, literally translated would mean "The Śiva temple of the Hoysaḷa promoter of Vaiṣṇvism "[179] This is enough testimony to the spirit of the age, Visṇuvardhana, likewise, appears to have made a grant to Mārbala Tīrtha, which Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar thinks is "apparently a Śaiva shrine on the Chāmunda hill "[180]

The tradition was carried on by his successors as well Narasimha I made a grant to the Bhavya-Cūdāmani Basti at Beḷgoḷa[181] His minister Hulla (who has been bracketed with Caundarāya and Gangarāja as the greatest promoter of Jainism) erected an epitaph to the Jaina Ācarya Devakīrti, besides building several bastis[182] The Bhandāri Basti at Belgola, in which I met a nude Digambara *sādhu* by name Vrsabhasena in 1927, is attributed to Narasimha's treasurer. Under Vīra Ballāḷa II, grandson of Visṇuvardhana, the kingdom was organised "upon a footing of peace and prosperity," and the king assumed for the first time the titles of independent royalty. In 1176 A D a Jaina temple was built by a Jaina merchant who called it Vīra Baḷlala Jinālaya, in honour of the king, and Vīra Baḷḷala granted it a village[183] About twenty years later, in 1195 A D, Nāgadeva, minister and *Pattaṇa-swāmi* of Baḷḷāla

178 *Cf.* Ibid, II Introd, p. 7
179 *Cf.* Krishnaswāmi Aiyangār, *Ancient India*, p. 238.
180 Ibid., p. 239.
181 Ep. Car. II, S. B 345, 349; *cf.* Ibid. Introd., p. 26.
182 Ibid., S. B. 63, 64 and 345; *cf.* Ibid. Introd, pp 46, 75.
183 Mysore Archaeological Report 1923, pp 39-40.

II, built the Nagara Jinālaya as a disciple of Nayakīrti. Baḷḷāla, the king, made a grant to this temple, built at his own capital, Dwārasamudra, "for feeding Jaina ascetics and carrying on the eight-fold worship of the temple" His son, the prince (Narasimha II), the inscription states, "was very much pleased to see the eight-fold worship and the free distribution of gifts to the ascetics"[184] Narasimha III is said to have had for his *guru* a Jaina teacher named *Rājā-guru* or the Royal Chaplain[185] The last instance of a Hoysala grant to the Jainas that we yet know is that of Pratāp-cakravarti Vīramanmatha-deva (1257-71 A D) in the Canna Pārśva Basadi at Kogali in the Bellary District.[186] Thus, to the end of their days the Hoysaḷa kings, whatever their religion, continued to patronise the Jainas

II

The same tradition of toleration continued under the rulers of Vijayanagara as well "The national movement (against Muhammedan inroads) which gave rise to Vijayanagara," observes Dr Krishnaswāmi Aiyangar, "was comprehensive and embraced a defence of all that was Hindu against Mussalman—including Jainism which received protection and patronage The sovereigns of this family, although each one had his own persuasion, adopted religious compromise as their civil policy"[187] An inscription at Bellary records the consecration of an image of Śāntinātha—Jineśwara, under Harihara I, by some Jaina merchants, and on the pedestal of this image is found the name of Māghanandi, disciple of Amarakīrti Ācārya, of Kundakundānvaya, Saraswati-gachcha, and Balatkāra-gaṇa of Mūlasamgha[188] But the most interesting of all the Vijayanagara inscriptions

184 Ibid. 1926, pp 50-2,
185 *Cf* Srikantayya, Hoysala Empire, Jour. of the Myth. Soc, VII, p. 098.
186 Rangāchārya, *Inscriptions of the Madras presidency* I, By 192
187 Krishnaswāmi Aiyangar, *Contributions* pp 298-99.
188 Rangāchārya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* I, by 458.

alluding to the Jainas is that of Bukka I, dated about 1368 A.D It reads:

> " During the time of Śrī Vīra Bukkarāya, dispute having arisen between the Jainas and the Bhaktas (Vaiṣṇavas), the blessed people (the Jainas) of all the *nādus* ..having made petition to Bukkarāya about the injustice done by the *Bhaktas,*—the King, taking the hand of the Jainas and placing it in the hand of the Sri Vaisnavas of the eighteen *nādus,* including *ācāryas* of the places ....and declaring (at the same time) that there was no difference between the Vaisnava-*darśana* (or faith) and the Jaina-*darśana,* (decreed as follows —) 'This Jaina-*darśana* is as before entitled to the five great musical instruments and the *kalaśa* (or vase) If loss or abvancement should be caused to the Jaina-*darśana* through the *Bhaktas,* the Vaiṣṇavas will kindly deem it as loss or advancement to their (own *darśana*) [189] The Śrī Vaisṇavas will kindly to this effect set up a *śāsana* in all the bastis of the kingdom *For as long as the sun and moon endure, the Vaisnavas will continue to protect the Jaina-darśana The Vaiṣnavas and Jainas are one (body) they must not be viewed as different*" [190]

The details given of the administration of this unique edict seem to show that Bukka was even partial to the *Bhavyas,* as the Jainas were called and threw the burden of their protection upon his own co-religionists, the *Bhaktas* or Śrī Vaisṇavas [191] Later on, this attitude of protection towards the Jainas would seem to have advanced the Jainas even a step further For, according to another inscription at Śrvana Beḷgoḷa, Bima-devi the queen of Devarāya I of Vijayanagara, appears to have been a disciple of the Jaina teacher Abhinava-Cārukīrti-Panditācārya, and she set up an image of Śāntināthā in the Mangayi Basti at

189 *Cf.* Girnār Rock Edict XII (H) of Aśoka, p. 18 n 20 above.

190 Ep Car. II, SB 344, Trans. pp 146-47

191 *Cf* Heras, *The Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar* I, p 539; Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins Described and Illustrated*. pp. 25-6

Beḷgoḷa.[192] Likewise, Irugapa, the trusted general of Harihara II being a staunch Jaina, erected and endowed Jaina temples even at the royal capital. An inscription on the lamp-pillar of the Gāṇagitti temple (Oil-woman's Temple) at Hampi (suburb of Vijayanagara), beginning with an invocation to Jina and Jina-*śāsana*, states that Irugapa (son of Harihara's *daṇḍanāyaka* Caica or Caicapa) who adhered to the doctrine of the Jaina teacher Simhanandi built the stone temple of Kunthu-Jinanātha at Vijayanagara It is also stated that this Irugapa or Iruga-*daṇḍeśa* or *daṇḍanātha* (General) composed the Jaina lexicon *Nānārtha-ratnamālā*[193] Another inscription at Conjeevaram speaks of Irugapa, son of *Dandanāyaka* Vaicaya (Baicapa or Caicapa ?), as having made a grant to a Jaina temple "for the benefit of Bukkarāya (II) son of Harihara (II)."[194] His sons too seem to have carried on the same policy of promoting the Jaina cause[195]

Of Bukkarāya (II) himself, there is another inscription in the Gurugaḷa Basti at Mudbidre (in South Kanara District) which records his grant to that Jaina temple[196] Under Devarāya II, perhaps the greatest ruler of the Sangama dynasty of Vijaya-nagara, similar grants were made to the Jaina temples in the same district One of them alludes to one *koḷaga* of paddy, given to a Jaina temple at Basrūr, on every bullock-load coming into the town,[197] and another under the same ruler speaks of a gift to Abhinava Cārukīrti Panditācārya for the construction of the Tribhuvana Cūdāmaṇi Caityālaya (on 29th January 1430 A. D) when Devarāja Wodēya of Nāgamangala was ruling over Mangaḷūra-rājya.[198] The Vijayanagara inscription of Devarāya

192 Ep Car II, SB 337

193 Hultzsch, S I I I, pp 156 ff

194 Ep Ind VII, pp 115-16

195 Ibid. VIII, p 22, *cf* Heras, *Aravidu Dynasty of Vijayanagar* I p. 539.

196 Rangāchārya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* II, SK 116

197 Ibid, SK 27

198 Mangesha Rao, *Mudabidurēya Hosa Basadiya S'ilā-śāsanagaḷu*, Twelth Karnātaka Sāhitya Sammēlan Report, 1927, p 152.

II, makes it clear beyond doubt that this prince, although he is described as "the tree of heaven to the Brāhmaṇas"[199] because of his liberality to them, undoubtedly patronised the Jainas as well. It says, "in order that his fame and merit might last as long as the moon and the stars, caused a temple (caityālaya) of stone to be built to the Arhat Pārśvanātha, who rules over the empire of all knowledge, and who well knew how to proclaim the doctrine of *Syādvādavidyā*, in a street of the *Pān-supāri* Bazār (*Kramukaparṇāpana*) at his (the king's) residence in Vijayanagara, that was situated in the midst of (the country called) Karnāta-deśa, which was protected by his orders"[200]

Under Virūpākṣa, son of Devarāya II,[201] eight *Settigārs* or merchants, made a grant to the Jaina temple at Bidirê for the daily worship, anointment, etc, of Candroga Pārśva Tīrthankara Candraprabhāswāmi and for the gift of *Śāstras*, under the direction of Cārukīrti Pandita Deva, when Vittarasa was ruling over Bārkūra-rājya[202] Kṛṣṇadevarāya (1509–1529 A D) by far the greatest of all the rulers of Vijayanagara, well known for his Brāhmanical charities, also endowed the Trailokyanātha Jinālaya in the Cingleput District[203] And lastly, that even lesser members of the Vijayanagara ruling families followed the example of the rulers is indicated by an inscription in the Bellary District which mentions Rāmarājayya's grant to a Jaina temple at Kurugodu for the merit of his father Mallarāja Woḍeya[204] Hence, it is natural to conclude that under the rulers of Vijayanagara, as well, Jainism continued to be a protected religion, although its best days were past when Viṣṇuvardhana Hoysaḷa became a convert to the creed of Rāmānuja

199 Hultzsch, S I.I, I p 166
200 Ibid., p. 164
201 See Suryanārain Row, *Vijayanagar*, ch XVI, pp 331-43
202 Mangesha Row, op. cit p 157.
203 Rangāchārya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* I, p 375, Madras Ep Rep, 1901, 188
204 Rangāchārya, op cit I, By 113, Madras Ep Rep, 1904, 63.

III

A like attitude towards the Jainas has been maintained by the present ruling family of Mysore as well We shall, therefore, conclude this chapter with a few examples of their attention towards them. Two inscriptions at Śravaṇa Beḷgola speak of Cāmarāja Woḍeyar's services to the Jainas therein it is stated that he released Śravana Beḷgola from its mortgage to some Jaina merchants and also prohibited the further alienation of its lands This was certainly a great service to a waning religion, as Jainism was at this time Lingāyatism had spread far and wide, and a local chief, Jagadeva by name, evidently a Lingāyat, had driven out Cārukīrti Panditācārya from Beḷgoḷa, but Cāmarāja graciously restored him to his original position and dispossessed Jagadeva of his principality [205] Thus Cāmarāja justified one of his titles proudly borne by him, *viz*, that he was "Emperor of the Six Dharmas," just as the Cālukyas had done in order to justify their title of Satyāśraya.

The next instance we know of is that of Cikkadevarāya and Krsnadevarāya I They seem to have undertaken and completed, respectively, the reconstruction of the pond of Kalyāṇi— the Dhavala Sarovara of Belgoḷa — which had given its name for all time to the first colony of Jainas in Karnātaka. It stands today as it stood at the time of Kṛsnadevarāya (photograph on the opposite page). Under Cikkadevarāya the whole of Mysore excepting the Malnād portions, had been brought under the sway of the Woḍeyars An abortive attempt was made by the Nāyakas of Ikkêri and Bednūr to restore the dominion of Vijayanagara, only to end in failure But what is of greater interest to us is that in the consolidation of his kingdom Cikkadevarāya seems to have been greatly assisted by his Jaina teacher Viṣālākṣa Pandita of Yalandūr.[206] Cikkaṇṇa Pandita, a Jaina writer, composed his *Vaidya-Nigantusāra* or lexicon on

205 Ep Car II, SB 250, 352, *cf* Ibid Introd, p 65

206 Krishnaswāmi Aiyangār, *Ancient India*, pp. 84, 296-97,

medicine under the same ruler.[207] Kṛṣṇadevarāya himself visited Beḷgoḷa and is said to have been so much impressed with the beauty of the colossus there that he granted many villages for its upkeep and erected an alms-house near the pond Kalyāṇi, in memory of his visit [208] Devacandra, another Jaina writer, composed his *Rājāvaḷi-kathe* (of which Mr E P Rice writes, " It has been of great assistance as a guide to the history of Jaina literature ") under the inspiration of a princess of this royal family, about 1838 A D, [209] and the present ruler of Mysore only acted up to these traditions when he lately attended the anointing ceremony of the colossus of Gommaṭa erected by Cāundarāya, the minister and general of Mārasimha and Rācamalla Ganga

JAINISM UNDER MINOR RULERS

Among the minor rulers of the Western districts of Karnātaka there were many patrons of Jainism like the Śilāhāras of Kolhāpur and the Rattas of Saundatti (near Belgaum). Somadeva, who lived at the court of Bhoja II of the Śilāhāra dynasty, says that he composed his *Śabdārnava-candrikā* (lit moon-light to the ocean of words), in Śaka 1127, in the Tribhuvana-Tilaka-Jinālaya built by Gandarāditya [210] The colophon of the work reads

स्वस्ति श्री कोल्लापुरवर्त्यां जुरिकामहास्थाने युधिष्ठिरावतार महामंडलेश्वर गंडरादित्येव निर्मापित त्रिभुवनतिलक जिनालये श्रीमत् परमेष्टि श्रीनेमिनाथ श्रीपादपद्माराधित बलेन वादीभवज्राङ्कुश श्रीविशाल कीर्तिदेव वैशतस्यतः etc.

It is clear, therefore, that Gandarāditya as well as Bhoja or Vīra Bhojadeva II were both patrons of Jainism. Vijayāditya of the same family also appears to have made a grant to a Jaina temple in Sam 1065 or 1143 A D. [211]

207 *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1921, p 33
208 Ep Car II, SB 249, *Cf* Ibid Introp, p 66
209 Rice (E P), *Kanarese Literature*, p 93
210 Bom Gaz I ii, p 549, *cf* Ibid, p 255
211 *Cf* Hirālāl, *Catalogue of MSS in C P and Berar*, Introd, p xxxii.
212 *Cf* Ep. Ind III, pp 207-9, 11.

Of the Raṭṭa kings we have more elaborate references They were feudatories of the Râstrakûṭas of Mânyakhêta, whose patronage of Jainism we have already noticed Hultzsch has pointed out that " Ratta was the real and practical form and Rāṣṭrakūṭa was the ornamental or stately form, of the family-name."[214] These Raṭṭas (1050-96 A. D) appear to have come to power through the influence of a Jaina named Pṛthvîrâma, a disciple in the *Kārêya* sect of the Jainas founded by Mailapatîrtha, an inscription at Kalbhāvi speaks of this *Kārêya* sect in the lineage of Mailapa[215] There are also some temples at Koṇūr, which have now been converted to Śaiva use, but which popular tradition represents as built by Jaina saints as a place in which to perform their penances " Any visitor to Konūr who wishes to see them, " says Fleet, " should still ask for the ' small stone houses of the Jaina *ṛsis* which are in the jungle ' They were probably originally Jaina shrines Koṇūr seems in fact to have been in old times a place of importance among the Jainas, and the post of the hereditary head-man of the village is still held by a Jaina family, in conjunction with a Lingāyat family "[216]

One of the titles of the Ratta king Candraprabhā was "who is the cause of the diffusion of the sacred writings of Jina "[217] Krsnarājadeva " the glory of the race of Rāsṭrakūtas " also made a grant to a Jaina temple[218] It concludes with the words ' he who confiscates land that has been given, whether by himself or by another is born for 60,000 years as a worm in ordure May prosperity ever attend him who, joyfully reading this, preserves it, and joy, pleasure, perfect happiness, health and fortune, but if any one reads it with the evil resolve of destroying it, may he go to the awful abode of misery for as long as the

214 Hulzsch, Ibid VII, pp 217, 219 20
215 Ind Ant XVIII, p 313, *cf* Bom Gaz I ii, p 550
216 Fleet, Ratta Inscriptions, J B B R A S X, p 182
217 Ibid , p 192
218 Ibid , pp 199-200

sun and moon may last. Those who destroy this (Grant) (sin as much) as those who destroy cats or Brāhmaṇas or bulls or cows at the conjunction of the Gangāsāgara and the Yamuna, or at the sacred shrines of Vārānasi or Gayê The Jinālaya of the brave Pêrmādi ' [219]

Another Raṭṭa inscription reads "Other Kings are addicted to the forbidden recreations of gaming, hunting, eating flesh, associating with courtesans, . mixing with low people, stealing and unfair ram-fighting and cock-fighting, but even apart from that are they like you, O King Rājā ! devoted to the worship of Jina and to giving gifts to world-renowned saints ? " Then it states 'King Rājā. whose head is ever purified by the fragrant waters of the rites of the Jaina religion, who ever relates the legends of religion, a very moon to the ocean of nectar of the doctrines of Jina,–caused to be erected at Kalpolê, a temple of Jina, wonderful to behold, the diadem of the earth, having three pinnacles that are unequalled so that Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva were charmed with it and said "The Jaina religion is a spotless religion " He also erected a place of retreat for the high-minded devotees of the god Śāntinātha (Jina) adorned with golden pinnacles and arched portals, fashioned like a sea-monster, and pillars of honour, and give it to Śubhacandra-Bhaṭṭāraka-deva, who was considered his own preceptor ' [220]

The spiritual lineage of Śubhacandra is traced from 'the celebrated original sect of Kundakunda, which is the abode of victory In it there became famous Maladhāri, the best of sages, the conqueror of passion, the glory of the race of spiritual preceptors, of pure deeds, endowed with good qualities, free from sloth, having kings prostrate before the lotuses which are his feet His nails were as an amulet to counter-act the deadly venom of the poisonous serpent lust, the letters of his name were as a charm to drive away the fierce demon ignorance, the scarf

219 Ibid , p 203
220 Ibid , p 235,

of his body was as a medicine to ward off sickness from his family; how shall we describe the might of the superhuman powers and the penances of Maladhāri deva, the best of sages![221]

Similarly, Kārtivīryadēva of the same Raṭṭa family made a grant to Śubhacandra who is also described as the high-priest of the Province The purpose of the grant was to provide food, wholesome medicine and instruction in the sacred scriptures for the holy men living there, as well as for repairs, etc The inscription is in Old Kannada, and state that it was composed by Pārśva 'from whom flowed forth charming words and meanings and rhetorical figures, causing hairs to stand up with joy to learned men with delightful sentiments' This epigraph is interesting also for many other details it gives For instance, it is mentioned that the grant was made in the presence of twelve headmen of villages, the chief of whom was Sindagāvunda of the Kaladgi party of that place, with oblations of water, as a grant to be respected by all, it also speaks of guilds, markets, flower gardens, etc Finally, it closes, "The dust of the earth may be counted, and the drops of rain, but the reward of preserving an act of piety cannot be estimated even by the *Creator* Reverence to the Arhat!"[222]

Further South, along the West Coast, in South Kanara and the adjacent districts, we have interesting testimony of the influence of Jainism over a number of petty rājās and chieftains Some of the inscriptions within this area have already been referred to under the Vijayanagara rulers There are several others, for instance, in the *Hosa Basti* at Mudbidrē, which throw a flood of light upon the last phase of Jaina power in Karnātaka After the conversion of Visṇuvardhana in Mysore by Rāmānuja, the centre of Jaina influence was virtually shifted to Mudbidrē in South Kanara There it enjoyed the patronage of rulers like the Woḍeyars of Kārkal, the Cauters of Mudbidrē, Bangars

221 Ibid, p 236

222 Ibid, pp 237-39, *cf* Bom Gaz I ii, pp 541-42,

of Nandāvar, Ajalars of Aḷdangaḍi, Mūlars of Bailangaḍi, and Sāvantas of Mulki.[223]

The ancient name of South Kanara was Tuḷuva, which extended far beyond its present limits An inscription in the Hosa Basti at Mudbidrê speaks of 'Srīman Mahāmaṇḍalêśwara *Jinadāsa Sālvamalla* Mahīvallabha' as.

> 'ತೌಳವದೇಶ ತಿಲಕಾಯಮಾನ ನಗಿರ ನಗರ ಸಿದ್ಧ ಸಿಂಹಾಸನಾಧಿಪತಿಯಾಗಿ ಸುವರ್ಣಪುರಿಯಿಂದ ಅಲಂಕೃತಮಾದ ಹೈವ ಕೊಂಕಣ ರಾಜ್ಯಮಂ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಲಿ-ಸುತಿರ್ದಂ'

'Sālvamalla (Jinadāsa) who ruled over the kingdom of *Tuḷuva* comprising *Haiva-Konkana* adorned with the city of *Suvarnapuri* from his throne at *Nagira* which was as it were its *tilaka*.'[224] Nagira or Nagara (?) is in Mysore above the ghāts, and *Suvarnapuri* is easily identified with Honāwar (lit 'the golden city') in North Kanara Haiva or Haiga was the ancient name for the Southern part of Konkan comprising the two districts of North and South Kanara[225] Gersoppa, Bhatkal and Kārkal were the three great centres of Jaina power within this area, and all of them are referred to in the inscriptions, the first being called *Bhallātakipura* That the influence of its rulers must have reached as far north as Goa is indicated by an inscription of 1529 A D. which reads

> ಶಕ ವರ್ಷ ೧೪೫೧ನೆಯ ವಿರೋಧಿ ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಶ್ರಾವಣ ಬ. ೧೩ಯು ಆದಿತ್ಯ-ವಾರ ವಿಜಯನಗರದಲ್ಲಿ ಕೃಷ್ಣರಾಯರು ಗುರುರಾಯರು ಸಂಗೀತಪುರ-ವನ್ನು ಆಳುತ್ತಿರುವಲ್ಲಿ ಗೋವೆರಾಜ್ಯದ ದಕ್ಷಿಣ ಭಾಗದಲ್ಲಿ ಸಾಷಷ್ಟ ಗ್ರಾಮಕ್ಕೆ ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದ ಅಷ್ಟಗ್ರಾಮದೊಳಗೆ.

'In the Śaka year 1451 Virodhikrtu, Śrāvana, bright 13 Sunday.. When Kṛṣṇarāya was ruling at Vijayanagara.... when *Gururāya* was ruling over *Sangītapura*....in Aṣṭagrāma,

223 Sturrock, South Canara I, p 55

224 *Cf* Mangesh Rao, *Mudabidareya Hosabasadiya S'ilā s'āsanagaḷu*, Twelveth Karnātaka Sāhitya Sammelan Report, 1927, p 158, Mad. Orient Lib Local Records XXXII

225 Sturrock, loc cit, p 2,

the chief town of Sāsaṣṭigrāma, in the south of the Kingdom of Goa....[226]

The Gururāya of this record and the Sālvamalla of the previous one (quoted above) came of a family of rulers who had their capital at Gersoppa The epithets 'ರತ್ನತ್ರಯಾರಾಧಕರುಂ' (worshippers of the *Ratnatraya* Right faith, Right understanding and Right action), 'ಜಿನ ಧರ್ಮ ಧ್ವಜಸ್ಥಾಪನಾಚಾರ್ಯರುಂ' (Implanters of the flag of Jaina Dharma), and 'ಹಿರಣ್ಯ ಚೈತ್ಯಾಲಯ ಸ್ಥಾಪನಾಚಾರ್ಯರುಂ ರತ್ನ ಸುವರ್ಣರಜತ ಜಿನ ಬಿಂಬ ಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಾಪನಾಚಾರ್ಯರುಂ' (Builder of golden temples, consecrators of gold and silver images of Jina) etc applied to Sālvamalla indicate his enthusiasm for the Jaina faith His ancestry is also described as consisting of those who obtained salvation by 'worshipping the feet of the *Pancaparaméstins*' or the five worshipful ones of the Jainas ('ಕ್ರಮದಿ ರಾಜ್ಯಂಗೈದು ಪಂಚಪರಮೇಷ್ಠಿಗಳ ಚರಣ ಸ್ಮರಣದಿಂ ಪಂಚತ್ವಮನೈದಿ ಸದ್ಗತಿಪಡೆದರ್') [227] Concrete instances of the devotion to Jainism of these rulers are only too numerous

For instance, Bhairava of the same family, being told by the blessed teacher Vīrasena, that such an act would tend to his prosperity in the future, got the third storey of the *Tribhuvana-Cūdāmani-Basadi* at the world famed Vēṇupura, roofed with copper-plates His family-priest is said to have been Panditācārya (Vīrasena ?) and his family god Pārśvanātha

> 'ಕುಲ ದೈವಂ ಪಾರ್ಶ್ವನಾಥಂ ಕುಲುಗುರುವೆನಿಪ ಪಂಡಿತಾಚಾರ್ಯವರ್ಯಂ ಧರೆಯೊಳಗಂ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧಿಪಡೆದೊಪ್ಪುವ ವೇಣುಪುರಾಂತರಾಳದೊಳ್ .. ಧರ್ಮಮಂ ವಿರಚಿಸಲುತ್ತರೋತ್ತರ ಸಮೃದ್ಧಿಗೆ ಕಾರಣಮಪ್ಪುದೆಂದು ತಾಂ ವರಗುರು ವೀರಸೇನ ಮುನಿ ಪೇಳಲು ಕೇಳ್ದನು ಭೈರವೇಶ್ವರಂ ಎಂದಾ ಮುನಿನಾಥಂ ಭೈರವೇಂದ್ರಗೆ ಪೇಳೆ ಕೇಳ್ದು. ವೇಣುಪುರದ ಭವ್ಯ ಜನಂಗಳಂ ಕರೆಸಿಯೊಡಂಬಡಿಸಿ, ಆ ತ್ರಿಭುವನ ಚೂಡಾಮಣಿ ಬಸದಿಯ ತೃತಿಯ ನಿಲಯಕ್ಕೆ ಚೈತ್ಯಗೇಹಾಗ್ರದೊಳ್ ಕರ ಚೆಲ್ವಾಗಿರೆ ತಾಮ್ರದಿಂ ಹೊದಕೆಯಂ ಮಾಡಿಸಿದಂ'

226 Mangesh Rao, op cit, p 160, Mad Orient Lib Local Records XXX–XXXI, Bhatkal, 320

227 Inscription in the *Bhairadevi Manatapa* of the Hosa Basti at Mudbidrē Mangesh Rao, op. cit., p. 158.

He also gave to the temple various kinds of silver plates, vessels, lamp-steads etc, and his queen Nāgaladêvi, as well, erected the *Mānastambha* or pillar of honour before the *Caityālaya* ·

> 'ರಜತದ ತಾಣ ದೀವಿಗೆಗಳಂ.....ರಜತದ ಪರಿಪರಿಯ ಬಟ್ಟಲಂ ಗಿಂಡಿಯುಮಂ . ಭೈರವೇಶ್ವರನಿತ್ತಂ ॥' ಆತನ ಪಟ್ಟದರಸಿ ನಾಗಲದೇವಿ 'ಮಾನಸ್ಥಂಬಮನೊಲ್ದು ಮಾಡಿಸಿದಳ್ ಶ್ರೀ ಚೈತ್ಯಗೇಹಾಗ್ರದೊಳ್'

Likewise, his two daughters, Laxmidêvi and Panditādêvi, provided for the daily food and special gifts of two Jaina ascetics .

> 'ಜಿನ ಮುನೀಶ್ವರ ಯುಗ್ಮಕ್ಕೆ ನಿಚ್ಚದಾಹಾರ ವಿಶಿಷ್ಟದಾನ.. ... ನಡೆವಂತು ಮಾಡಿದರೆ'[228]

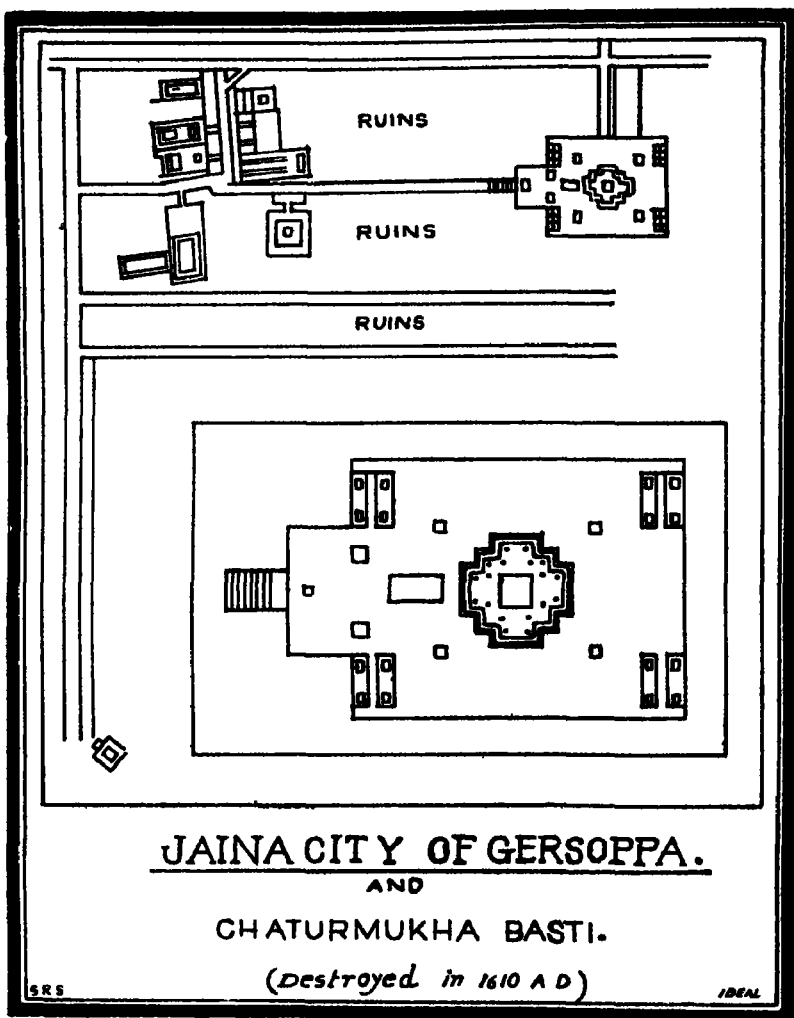
Another epigraph in the Hosa Basti states

> ಜಯಾಭ್ಯುದಯ ಶಾಲಿವಾಹನ ಶಕ ವರುಷ ೧೩೭೪ನೆಯ ವಿಶು ಸಂವತ್ಸರದ ಪುಷ್ಯ ಶು. ೧ ಬುಧವಾರ ಮೂಲಾ ನಕ್ಷತ್ರದಲ್ಲಿ ಶ್ರೀಮನ್ಮಹಾಮಂಡಲೇಶ್ವರ ನಗಿರಿಯ ಹಿರಿಯ ಭೈರವದೇವ ಒಡೆಯರು ನಗಿರ ರಾಜ್ಯಮಂ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಲಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದಲ್ಲಿ ತಮಗೆ ವ್ಯಾಧಿ ಬಲೋತ್ತರವಾದಲ್ಲಿ ತಮಗೆ ಪರಮಗತಿ ಸಾಧನವಾಗಿ ತಮ್ಮ ತ್ರಿಕರಣ ಶುದ್ಧಿಯಿಂದ ಬಿದಿರೆಯ ತ್ರಿಭುವನ ಚೂಡಾಮಣಿಯೆಂಬ ಚೈತ್ಯಾಲಯದ ಶ್ರೀ ಚಂದ್ರನಾಥಸ್ವಾಮಿಗಳ ಪೂರ್ವಾಹ್ನ ಕಾಲದ ದೇವಪೂಜೆಗೆ ನಡುವಣ ನೆಲೆಯ ಶ್ರೀ ಸುಪಾರ್ಶ್ವ ತೀರ್ಥಂಕರರ ಮಧ್ಯಾಹ್ನ ಕಾಲದ ಪೂಜೆಗೆ ಮೇಗಣ ನೆಲೆಯ ಸಂಘ ಸಮುದಾಯದವರ ಮುಂದಿಟ್ಟು ಬರಿಸಿದ ಧರ್ಮಶಾಸನದ ಭಾಷಾಕ್ರಮವೆಂತೆಂದರೆ ತಾವು ಆಳುತ್ತಾ ಇರ್ದ ಬಿಲ್ಲೆಸೆಯ ನಾಲ್ಕು ಕಡೆಯಿಂದ ಒಳಗಣ ಸಮಸ್ತ ವೃತ್ತಿಗೆ ಕಟ್ಟಿದ ಗೇಣಿಯಹನೆಯಲ್ಲು ಮುಡಿ ೧ಕ್ಕಂ ಹನೆ ಮೂವತ್ತರ ಲೆಕ್ಕದಲ್ಲು ಬತ್ತ ಮೂಡೆ ೧೦೦೦ ಸಾವಿರ ಮೂಡೆಯುನ್ನು ವರ್ಷಂಪ್ರತಿ ನಡೆಸುವಂತಾಗಿ ಹಿರಣ್ಯೋದಕ ಧಾರಾಪೂರ್ವಕವಾಗಿ ಆಚಂದ್ರಾರ್ಕಸ್ಥಾಯಿಯಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿದಂಥ ಧರ್ಮಶಾಸನಂ.[229]

This is more than of ordinary interest because of the simple faith it reflects which made Bhairava provide for the fore-noon and after-noon worship of the Jinālaya, that he might be cured of a growing malady and that the good act might be a means to the attainment of the highest (salvation). It is dated in the Śaka year 1374 or 1462 A D We have given these excerpts here, because, they are not available anywhere else for ready

228 *Ibid*, p. 156.

229 Ibid, p. 156. Ins. III.

JAINA CITY OF GERSOPPA.
AND
CHATURMUKHA BASTI.
(Destroyed in 1610 A D)

(Vide page 55)

reference, except in the report of Mr Mangesh Rao, who copied them from a very old transcript entitled '*Mudabidireya Śāsanagaḷu*' in the Oriental Library of Madras To discuss their details, however interesting in themselves, would take us far beyond our immediate purpose Gersoppa the Jaina capital is now in ruins, but contains monuments of unique value A few relics from the place may be seen at the Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay The estampages of some of the inscriptions there, although they are not quite distinct, indicate names like Mangarasa, and Harihara, which makes their age practically certain. One of them is from a *Viragallu* recording the death of a hero. In another the opening verse is clearly the usual invocation found in all Jaina inscriptions It reads

ಶ್ರೀ ಮತ್ಪರಮ ಗಂಭೀರಸ್ಯಾದ್ವಾದಾಮೋಘಲಾಂಛನಂ ।
ಜೀಯಾತ್ ತ್ರೈಲೋಕನಾಥಸ್ಯ ಶಾಸನಂ ಜಿನಶಾಸನಂ ॥

'May the sacred Jaina doctrine, the doctrine of the Lord of the worlds, be victorious, the supreme, profound *syādvāda*, the token of unfailing success' The glory of Gersoppa as it was once is indicated by yet another inscription in the Mudbidre temple which speaks of it 'as having the beauty of the vermilion mark on the smiling lotus-like face of the woman Tuḷuva country'. And the poet who composed the inscription asks

'ಇಂತೆಸೆವ ನಗರಿ ರಾಜ್ಯದ ಮಧ್ಯಪ್ರದೇಶದೊಳ್'
ಬಳಸಿರ್ದೊಪ್ಪುವ ನಂದನಾವಳಿಗಳಿಂ ಕಾಸಾರ ನೀರೇಜದಿಂ ।
ಕಳಧೌತೋಜ್ವಲ ಸಾಲಕೊತ್ತಲಗಳಿಂದಟ್ಟಾಲ ಜಾಲಂಗಳಿಂ ।
ವಿಲಸದ್ಗೋಪುರದಿಂ ಸುಹರ್ಮ್ಯಚಯದಿಂ ಶ್ರೀ ಜೈನಗೇಹಂಗಳಿಂ ।
ಚೆಲುವಂ ತಾಳ್ದಿದ ಗೇರಸೊಪ್ಪೆ ನಗರಂ ಕೊಂಡಾಡಲಾರ್ಬಲ್ಲರ್ಕೆ ।[280]

'Who can describe the charm of the city of Gersoppa in the heart of the Kingdom of Nagira full of beautiful places, resplendent towers, Jaina houses (basadis?) etc.?'

Yet, Gersoppa was only a political rather than a religious centre. But its intimate connections with South Kanara, the

280 Ibid., p. 158, Ins. II.

real seat of Jaina influence, is revealed by the fact that all the above information has been garnered from inscriptions at Muḍbidre to whose temples the Gersoppa rulers made grants. There is also, in the Madras Oriental Library, a copy of a grant made by Sālva Kṛṣṇadevarāya, who is said to have been ruling from Sangītapura (capital of *Tuḷu Haiva-Konkana*), in the Śaka year 1481 Kālayugti month of Āsādha, full-moon, Thursday, to a Jaina temple at Dhārwār [281] Since Sadāśivarāya of Vijayanagara is also mentioned it is to be understood that the rulers of Gersoppa were feudatories under Vijayanagara

Vênupura (Mudbidrê ?) is described in an inscription found at the place, among other things, as consisting of 'ಜೈನಾಲಯ ರಮ್ಯಹರ್ಮ್ಯ ಚಯದಿಂ' groups of beautiful Jaina temples and houses, to verify which one has only to visit the place

Further, 'ಬಾಲಕರೆಲ್ಲರುದ್ಘಜಿನಧರ್ಮರತರ್ ವರದಾನ ಪೂಜೆಯೊಳ್ |
ಲೀಲೆಯಿನಿರ್ಪ್ಪ ಶ್ರಾವಕರನಿಂದ್ಯ ಜಿನೋದಿತ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ ಶಾಲಿಗಳ್ |
ಬಾಲೆಯರಾತ್ಮನಾಥರ್ಗನುಕೂಲೆಯ ರಾಗಿರುತಿರ್ಪ್ಪರೆಂದೊಡಾ |
ನಾಲಗೆ ಯಾರಿಗುಂಟು ಪೊಗಳಲ್ ನೆರೆ ವೇಣುಪುರ ಪ್ರಭಾವಮಂ | [282]

"Who has the tongue ?" asks the poet of the epigraph, "to sing the glory of Vênupura, where women are true to their lords, and men are ever engaged in the study of the Jaina *Sāstras*, and worshippers find ,recreation in giving gifts and performing *pūjā*, and where even childern are enthusiastic in their adherence to *dharma*" The kind of service and gifts they made is illustrated by the construction of the Tribhuvana-Cūdāmani-Caityālaya at Mudbidrê The inscription states —

"When the victorious king Devarāya's son Prauḍhadêvarāya had attained the glory of Indra, ('ವಿಜಯರಾಯ ಕ್ಷಿತೀಶಾತ್ಮಜನಾದ ದೇವರಾಯನ ಮಗನಾದ ಪ್ರೌಢದೇವರಾಯಂ ಸುರಲೋಕೇಶ್ವರ ವೈಭವಂ ಧರಿಸಲ್ ತದ್ರಾಜ್ಯಮಂ ಪೂಜ್ಯಮಂ') and his great minister and general Perumāḷadeva was guarding the entire realm (ಆತನ ಮಹಾಪ್ರಧಾನ ಪೆರುಮಾಳ್ ದೇವ ದಂಡನಾಯಕರು ಸಮಸ್ತ ರಾಜ್ಯಮಂ ಪ್ರತಿಪಾಲಿಸುವ ಕಾಲದಲ್ಲಿ)

281 Ibid, p 160; Mad. Orient Lib. Local Records XXXI.

282 Mangesh Rao, op. cit., p 152.

and when *Devarāja of Nāgamangala* was ruling over the kingdom of Mangalore which was as it were an ornament of the lady Earth (ಶ್ರೀಪೃಥ್ವೀಕಾಂತೆಗೆ ಮಂಗಲಾಭರಣಮೆನಿಸಿದ ಮಂಗಲೂರು ರಾಜ್ಯಮಂ ನಾಗಮಂಗಲ ದೇವರಾಜೊಡೆಯರು ಆಳುತ್ತಿರ್ದ....) in the Śaka year 1351, Saumya, month of Māgha, bright 5 Thursday (29th January, 1430 A D), ವೇಣುಪುರದ ಎಂಟು ಪ್ರಜೆಸೆಟ್ಟಿಗಾರರು ನಾಲ್ವರೆಳಮೆಗೊಳಗಾದ ಸಮಸ್ತ ಹಲರು ದೇವ ರಾಯ ಮಹಾರಾಯರ ನಿರೂಪದಿಂ ಅಭಿನವಚಾರುಕೀರ್ತಿ ಪಂಡಿತ ದೇವರುಗಳಿಗೆ ಚೈತ್ಯಾಲಯ ನಿರ್ಮಾಣಾರ್ಥವಾಗಿ ಕೋಟೇಶ್ವರದಲ್ಲಿ ಶಾಲಿಕೆನಾಡು ಚವುಟರು ಮುಖ್ಯವಾದ ಅರುವರು ಬಲ್ಲಾಳುಗಳ ಸಹಾಯದಿಂ ತ್ರಿಭುವನ ಚೂಡಾಮಣಿಯೆಂಬ ಮಹಾ ಚೈತ್ಯಾಲಯಮಂ ಜಗದಾಶ್ಚರ್ಯಮಪ್ಪಂತು ಮಾಡಿಸಿದರ್ ' [233]

" The citizens of *Vênupura* including eight Settikārs and others in accordance with a message from Devarāja, having given (donations) to Abhinava Cārukīrti Paṇḍita-deva, for the construction of the Caityālaya, with the help of other well known persons chief of whom are the Couters of *Śālikênādu* in Kotêśwara erected the great *Tribhuvana-Cūdāmani-Caityālaya* to the wonder of the world "

Then,—" ಮುಡಬಿದರೆಯ ಹಲರು ತ್ರಿಭುವನ ಚೂಡಾಮಣಿ ಚೈತ್ಯಾಲಯಕ್ಕೆ ಶ್ರೀ ಚಂದ್ರ ಪ್ರಭ ತೀರ್ಥೇಶ್ವರರ ಪರಮೋದಾರಿತ ದಿವ್ಯಮೂರ್ತಿಯಂ ಕಂಚಿನಿಂದಷ್ಟಮಹಾ ಪ್ರತಿಹಾರೀ ಸಮೇತವಾಗಿ ಕರಮುಸೆವಪ್ಪಂತು ನಿರ್ಮಾಪಿಸಿದರ್ "—
the public of Muḍbidrê got up the beautiful image of *Śrī Candraprabhā-tīrthêśwara*, together with eight great attendants made of bell-metal, that people might lift up their hands (in prayer) Likewise, when that Prauḍha Devarāya was ruling over the whole kingdom, and his *Ajnādhāraka* (lit order-bearer) loyal servant, *Ganapannodeya* was ruling over the Kingdom of Mangalore, 'in the Śaka year 1373, Prajotpatti, month of Vaiśāk, bright 7, Thursday, several citizens (*Bhavya-jana*, lit blessed people) got the *Mukha-mantapa* or front bower (portico) of the Caityālaya constructed. [234] The names of the persons who contributed to it are too interesting to be left out

" Calla-seṭṭi among the Deva seṭṭis of Kakkê, the *Commander* Benjaṇa Deva-seṭṭi, Śānti-seṭṭi of *Beṭṭakerê*,

233 Ibid, p 152
234 Ibid, p. 152.

Mandê Kānta-seṭṭi, Yada Mainda-seṭṭi, Bāṇatti Mainda-seṭṭi, *Āluva* Nārāyaṇa-seṭṭi, Kuduvu Uttama-seṭṭi, Heggadê Deva-seṭṭi, the *nephews* of Biliya Mainda-seṭṭi, Kājava Deva-seṭṭi, *Gummata-setti*, Notada Cāuli-setti, *Bhandāri* Kāmadeva-setti, Kakkê Kāmanna-seṭṭi, Nārāvi Mainda-seṭṭi, Ajali Koṭi-seṭṭi, Banga *Brahma-setti*, Kurikāra Devara-seṭṭi, Kondi Devatanna, Pêramunde Pandi-seṭṭi, the *nephews* of Nanda–Kujumba-setti, Kakkê Dāsa-seṭṭi's *nephews*, and *nephews* of the Settis of *Settipura*, Punja Posabu-setti, Cahuki Devaru-setti, Nārāvi *Brahmadāsa-setti*, Iravi Devara-setti, *Birumana Tikāri*, Nārāvi Padumaṇṇa-setti, Kājava *Birumana-setti*, Nārāvi Sāntu-setti, Kudurê Bālamma-setti, Banasi Paiva-seṭṭi, Kājava Cauli-setti, Malaya Ādana-seṭṭi, Bettigare *Vardhamana-setti*, Nelli Devara-setti, Bettigare Koti-setti, Sinappa Devara-setti, *Manju-setti*, Tolāri Devara-setti, his *nephews* Kudurê Devanna-setti, Āyanta Pandi-setti, his *nephew* Kāntanṇa-seṭṭi, Nārya Kadamba-seṭṭi, *Maheśa-setti*, Nanda Devara-setti, his *nephew*, Butti Kāntanna-seṭṭi, Kondê Kāntanna-seṭṭi, Sālgi Kāntanna-setti, Amaca Kāntanna-setti, Bāṇati Devara-seṭṭi's *niece Karpura-setti*, *Bhandāri* Devanna-setti's *mother Bālê Muddu-setti*, Hittala *Kunda-setti's nephews* Malatapa Humai-seṭṭi, his brother Devaru-setti, Hittala Kundi-setti's *nephew Cauta Devarusetti*, *Muddu-setti's son Mārkanda-setti*, Yelamêyana Ranga setti, Āyiri Nārna-seṭṭi, Noppada Manjanna-seṭṭi's *sons* Devaru-setti, and Keśava-seṭṭi, Tamminitti's *son* Mallu-setti, Uliri Kāntanna-setti's *sons* Brahma-setti, Setta Konyaṇṇa-setti, Uliri Padma-seṭṭi's *nephew* Brahma-setti "[235]

The apparently striking feature of the names is that all of them have the suffix '*setti*' which is derived from (San.) *Śreṣṭin*, meaning technically the head of a guild The list includes even a town occupied by a whole class of *seṭṭis*.

235 Ibid., p. 158.

'*Settipura*.' Evidently, not all who bore the name were traders At least one is called '*Senāpati*' or commander of an army, another is called '*Kudurê*' Dêvanna-setti, which might possibly indicate proficiency in the equestrian art, a third is named '*Bhandāri*' or treasurer. We have seen that a treasurer of Narasimha Ballāla, gave his name to the *Bhandāri Basadi* at Śravana Belgola But the majority begin with place-names, whereas two bear the surnames of important families like *Āluva* and *Cauter* However, more interesting than all else is the fact that in the absence of elders the representatives are mostly *nephews* or even a *niece* or a *mother*, but *rarely a son* The few exceptions, however, serve to illustrate that among the contributors were persons representing both the *Aliyasantānam* as well as the ordinary laws of inheritance [236] An Analysis of the names also points to a mixture of Āryan and Dravidian elements which must form the subject of special investigation Brahma-setti, Padma-setti, Mahêśa-setti, Nārāyana-setti, etc, are clearly Brāhmanical names, whereas Pandi-setti Tammitti or Tammisetti, and Kujumba-setti are purely Dravidian The last one, Kujumba, is also the name of a devil worshipped in South Kanara [237] Birumana is evidently derived from Brahma or Brāhmana as Mainda from Manjunāth Vardhamāna, Gummata, and possibly Śānti-setti are the only ones which are unmistakeably Jaina names However, this is a digression

Kārkal, Bārkūr and Bhatkal were other places of considerable Jaina power and interest. Of these, the first was the seat of the Bairāsu Wodeyars who claimed descent from Jinadatta of the *Candra-vamsa* or Lunar Race Their authority, according to Sturrock extended from Kārkal to Kumta (in North Kanara) [238] Their most monumental work is the great colossus still standing at their capital, erected by Vīra Pāndya, as indicated by an inscription at its foot It states —" *Vīra*

236 *Cf* Sturrock, op cit, p 158
237 Ibid, p 138
238 Ibid, pp 61, 64

Pāṇḍya, son of Bhairavendra of the Lunar Race, caused the image of Bāhubalin to be made "[239] From it we also learn that Lalitakīrti of the *Panasogêvali* of the Deśigana was the guru of Vīra Pāndya. Another inscription at Kārkal speaks of the construction of the Caturmukha-basti by Immadi Bhairarasa of the family of Jina-Datta [240] This family was once very powerful at Pattipombucādripura or Humca near Śimoga in Mysore,[241] The conversion of Visnuvardhana and the expansion of Lingāyet power in the South gradually drove them west into Tuḷuva.[242] That Jainism was mostly prevalent over the ghats about this time is also indicated by the history of the Cangāḷvas of Coorg [243] Dr Śāmaśastri observes that these were Jainas from the 11th to the 15th centuries In 1013 Cangālva Pilduvayya made a grant to the Jainas for feeding the poor The *Srīpāla-caritra* and *Jayanrpa-carita* ascribed to Mangarasa also make it clear that this minister of Cangālva Vikrama was also a Jaina Tradition says, these Jaina rulers of Kālahaḷḷi came from Dwārāvati together with five to six hundred Jaina families and settled in Coorg Their capital was Piriyapatna (Beṭtadapura) and the annual revenue of their territory is said to have been 48,00,000 *varahas* [244] Their priests were of Pansôgê or Hanasôgê (Hottagê or Pustaka-gachcha) who were also the priests of the Bairāsu Wodeyars [245] Thus the rulers of Kanara and the rulers above the 'ghats were intimately connected, both by religious and family ties Echappa Woḍeya of Gersoppa, as well, appears to have married a daughter of the last Bairāsu Woḍeyar of Kārkala [246]

239 Hultzsch, Jaina Colossi in South India, Ep Ind VII, p 109
240 Ibid, p 110
241 Rice, Mysore and Coorg I, p 371
242 Sturrock, op cit, pp 61, 188
243 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pp 141 42
244 Shamaśāstri, Mysore Archaeological Report, 1925, pp 15-6
1 Varaha = Rs 4
245 Rice, op cit, p 142 Coorg Inscriptions, Ep, Car I p 13 Hultzsch, op cit, p 110
246 Rangāchārya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* I, p 166

According to Buchanan the name of this lady as well as that of her six sisters (who were the only children of the last Wodeyar) would appear to have been Bairadevi The eldest of them, Doḍḍa Bairadevi, he says, lived at Bhatkal But all the aunts having died without issues, the daughter of the second Bairadevi (of Gersoppa) combined in herself all the sovereignty of Tuluva, including Kārkala, Gersoppa, and Bhatkal [247] Sturrock, however, observes, "There is no trace of her ever having power in the southern parts of South Canara, and when she joined the Muhammadan league against the Portuguese between 1570 and 1580, her territories do not seem to have extended farther south than Bārkalūr or Basrūr" The current tradition in the Mangalore and Kasargod taluks represents a Karkala branch of the family reigning until it was extirpated by Śivappa Naik [248]

The Naiks of Ikkeri and Bednore, who were polygars under Vijayanagara, were *Śiva-bhaktars* or devotees of Śiva Their depredations proved fatal to Jainism in its last strong-hold in the Western districts now under consideration About 1560 A D they obtained a grant of the government of Barkūr and Mangalore as underlords of Sadaśiva Rāya "It is probable," says Sturrock, "that the natural desire of the local Jain chief to secure their independence of the Vijayanagara power, was increased by their repugnance to be placed in subordination to a Lingayet, and the relation between the Jain chief and the Ikkeri family seems to have been hostile from the beginning" [249] This resulted in the ultimate defeat of the Jainas, at first under Baira Devi at Bhaṭkal and later under the rulers of Mangalore and Bārkūr, at the hands of Venkaṭappa Naik (1608 A D) and his successor Śivappa Naik (1649 A D) Under their onslaughts Baira Devi of Bhaṭkal was slain, and the Kārkal family disappeared Mangalore held out for some time, though Bārkūr

247 Buchanan, *Travels* III, p 165
248 Sturrock op cit, p 70
249 Ibid, p 70

was altogether destroyed.[250] Buchanan says, out of sixty-eight Bastis at Bhaṭkal only two remained [251] At Beidur (Baindūr ?), for instance, when Baira Devi was defeated and slain, the Basti was abandoned by the *pūjāri* for want of sustenance [252] And at Bārkūr, once the capital of Jaina kings, the conquering religion (Śaivism) rules at present , " No Jaina passes through (its grass grown streets) for the broken and headless images of his Tīrthankaras may be picked up by the dozen among the grass and bushes that have crept over his shattered temples, and here and there one may be seen laid before the entrance of a Brāhmin temple over which all must tread " [253]

It was during this period of turmoil that Della Valle the Italian traveller visited the West Coast going through Ikkeri, Honāwar, and Gersoppa He witnessed Barcelore (Basrūr) which belonged to Venkatappa Naik, where he found " a fair, long, broad and straight street, having abundance of palmettos and gardens and ample evidence of good quarries and a considerable population " In contrast to this was the territory of the Banghel (Bangar) Rājā, whose place had been destroyed by Venkatappa Naik , " but the bazar and market place remained, though not so stored with goods as in former times " The fact that Venkatappa Naik, a bitter Śaiva, was invited by the queen of Ullāl against the Bangar Rājā, her own ('divorced') husband and a Jaina, must serve to illustrate the unfortunate and pitiable condition of the Jainas at that time [254] The sequel of this history is easily told Although under Haider Ali the Jaina temples continued to enjoy their lands, of an annual revenue of 360 pagodas, they were entirely resumed by his fanatical son Tipoo who, however, gave in lieu of them an annual allowance of 90 pagodas Buchanan observes, " At

250 Ibid , pp 70 3 , Buchanan, op cit , p 127
251 Ibid , p 132
252 Ibid , p 109
253 Walhouse, quoted by Sturrock, op cit , 92
254 *Cf* Ibid , pp 71-2 , The Travels of Sig-Pietro della Valle, pp 150-56

Haryadika (Hiréyadka in Udipi Tāluk) there was a Basti with a copper image—which was carried to Jamālābād by orders of the late Sultan and there, together with others, converted into coin or cast into guns "[255] When the British took charge of the District, Major Munro appears to have increased the grant of the temples to 207 pagodas, but Revenshaw again reduced it to Tipoo's minimum of 90,—" to be collected as a small tax from the farmers" Buchanan who supplies these details, also adds, " As this collection is done by people who consider the Jainas heretics, very little will reach their hands The free lands of the Jainas were resumed and not given to them even on the payment of the land-tax, as to others, owing to Brāhmaṇs acting as revenue officers "[256]

255 Buchanan, op cit, p 89
256 Ibid, pp 19-20, 73-5.

II. *CONTRIBUTIONS: LITERATURE,* ART AND ARCHITECTURE

JAINA WRITERS OF KARNĀṬAKA

In the preceding section we have made occasional references to the patronage extended to Jaina writers by the rulers of various dynasties in Karnātaka, both Jaina and non-Jaina For example, we have alluded to the patronage of Ravikīrti by Cālukya Pulakeśi II, of Jinasêna and Gunabhadra under the Rāṣṭrakūtas, as well as of Pampa, the author of *Pampa Bhārata,* under Arikesari, a Cālukya feudatory of the Rāṣṭrakūtas We have also spoken of a Jaina prince named Sālvamalla whom the inscription on the base of an image in the Madrās Museum describes as "a lover of *Sāhitya* or literature" The literary excellence of many of the Jaina inscriptions of the South such as, for instance, the Kudlūr Plates of Mārasimha Ganga, has also been incidently pointed out Mr R Narasimhāchār of Mysore has made a spelndid selection of some of these (both Jaina and non-Jaina) in his *Śāsana-Padya-Manjari* or Poetical Extracts from Inscriptions in Kannada The interest in Jaina literature evinced both by rulers as well as their ministers and generals is amply indicated by works such as the *Praśnôttara-Ratnamālikā* by Amoghavarṣa Rāstrakūta, *Nānārtha-Ratnamālā* by Irugapa Dandanāyaka of Vijayanagara, and the *Cāundarāya Purāna* by Cāundarāya, minister and general of Mārasimha and Rācamalla Ganga In the present chapter we shall consider the subject more systematically and in greater detail wherever that is possible. For the sake of convenience the linguistic method of dividing the subject into Prākṛt and Sanskrit authors on the one hand, and vernacular writers on the other, is preferable to the merely chronological method without regard to the medium of expression The latter would give us a truly historical

summary, no doubt, but only at the expense of a clear understanding of the distinctive contributions of Jainism to each branch of literature Yet, for the sake of illustration, we shall occasionally cite parallels in whatever language they might be found, especially where kinship of thought and expression demand such a reference.

Kundakundācārya is by far the earliest, the best known and most important of all Jaina writers in the South He deserves mention here because of his extraordinary importance His several names—as indicated in a *Paṭṭāvali* of the Balatkāragaṇa and confirmed by the Vijayanagara inscription of Harihara II were Elācārya, Padmanandi, Vakragrīva, Gridhrapincha, in addition to Kundakunda [1] His birth-place or place of residence, like that of Homer, is a contested question being claimed by all the important linguistic provinces of the South, *viz* Kannaḍa, Tamil, and Telugu [2] His influence over South Indian Jainism as a whole is indicated by the fact that almost all later writers, teachers, and men of note, either in their works, genealogies, or inscriptions trace their descent from Kundakunda calling themselves '*Kundakundānvaya*'[3] An inscription at Śravana Belgoḷa says, "the lord of ascetics, Kundakunda, was born through the good fortune of the world In order to show that he was not touched in the least, both within and without, by dust (passion), the lord of ascetics, I believe, left the earth, the abode of dust, and moved four inches above "[4]

Kundakunda's most important works are (1) *Pancāstikāya*, (2) *Pravacanasāra*, (3) *Samayasāra*, (4) *Niyamasāra*, (5) *Rayanasāra*, (6) *Aṣṭapāhuḍa* (consisting of *darśana*, *sutta*, *caritta*, *bōdha*, *bhāvamōkkha*, *linga*, and *śīla*); and (7) *Bāraha*

1 About the various names of Kundakunda see *Pravacanasāra*, Prof A N Upadhye's ed Introd, p 5

2 *Cf* Ibid, pp 9, 12-13, Sheshagiri Rao, *Studies in S I J* II pp 9 10

3 *Cf* Chakravarti, *The Jaina Gazette*, *XVIII*, pp 1-2

4 Ep Car II, SB 254, 351, Trans pp 110-155 Br Sitalprasadji, opines that Kundakunda could not have gone to *Sarvārthasiddhi*, but only to *Swarga*.

Anuvēkkha He is supposed to have composed in all no less than 84, but the above works are the only ones now extant. They are all written in Prākṛt akin to Śaūrasēni, and copies of these works are to be found in almost all South Indian Jaina libraries Later writers wrote elaborate commentaries on these, both in Sanskrit and in the vernaculars, often departing from the spirit of the original as pointed out by Peterson in the case of Śrutasāgara's *Śatprābhṛta-tīkā*, from which we have cited elsewhere a passage bearing on the salvation of women [5] Peterson has also remarked that although Kundakunda's is a noted name among the Digambaras, the Śvetāmbaras 'also quote him with respect and say that he stood at the dividing line of the two churches and was largely responsible for the Digambara heresy '[6] According to Mr Hirālāl, on the other hand, 'it is certain that he lived at the time the Digambara and Śvetāmbara split had already taken place, for more than once he criticises the Śvetāmbaras with regard to salvation of women, in support of which statement he quotes the line

'चित्ते चिंता माया तम्हा तासिं ण णिव्वाणं'

from *Pravacanasāra*, and also adds, 'in the *Śatpāhuda* there are many *gāthās* which prohibit to woman the adoption of the rigid course of conduct, *e g* verses 23 and 24 of *Suttāpāhuda* [7] The date assigned to him in the Pattāvalis is 49 V S or about the end of the 1st cent B C [8] The following verses from the *Pancāstikāyasāra* indicate Kundakunda's true outlook regarding self-purification and the traditional mode of attaining salvation —

"The person who has reverence and devotion towards *Arhanta*, *Siddha*, their images, *Samgha* and congregations, will

5 Br Sitalprasadji points out "Only Santasagar has gone outside the real text of *Astapahuda* somewhere, but not all other commentators like Amritachandrā, Jayasena, Padmaprabha, Malharideva "

6 Peterson, Report on San MSS II, p 83

7 Hirālāl, op cit, p vii

8 *Cf* Hoernle, Pattāvalis of the Saraswati Gachcha, Ind Ant XX, p. 341.

invariably get bondage with *punya-karma*, hence he can never achieve absolute annihilation of *Karma*.

'One may understand the true nature of *Tīrthankara*, one may have interest in and devotion to the scripture, one may have self-control and penance, with all these, if he is not capable of realising his own true-self, to him Nirvāna is beyond reach '

He preaches *Vītarāga* or non-attachment as the final way to *Moksa*

तम्हा णिव्वुदिकामो रागं सव्वत्थ कुणदि मा किंचि ।
सो तेण वीदरागो भविओ भवसायरं तरदि ॥[9]

The next name in the Digambara lists of the South is that of Umāsvāti or Umāswāmi who is said to have been a disciple of Kundakundācārya [10] But the only work of his which is respected by the Digambaras and also the Śvetāmbaras is the *Tattvārthādhigama Sūtra*, which Mr Hiralal calls 'the Jaina Bible' just as he described Kundakunda's works as 'the Jaina Vedānta'[11] No less than 500 works are said to have been composed by Umāsvāti, of which, however, only five have survived The colophon to all of these [*viz* (I) *Tatvārthādhigama Sūtra*, (ii) *Bhāsya* on the same, (iii) *Pūja-prakarana*, (iv) *Jambudwīpa-samāsa*, and (v) *Praśamarati*] as published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal reads

कृति. सीताम्बराचार्यस्य महाकवेरुमास्वातिवाचकस्येति ॥ [12]

He appears to have died about the 142 S V or 85 A D,[13] It is a moot-question whether he could be mentioned among the Southern or Karnātaka writers, but we give him a place

9 *Pancāstikāyasāra*, vv 177 and 179 The last is thus rendered into Sanskrit

तस्मान्निर्वृतिकामो राग सर्वत्र करोतु मा किंचित् ।
सो तेन वीतरागो भव्यो भवसागरं तरति ॥

cf Chakravarti, *Pancāstikāyasāra*, S B J III, pp 168 ff

10 *Cf* Hoernle, op cit, p 341, Peterson, op cit, IV Index, pp xvi-vii

11 Hirālāl, op cit, pp vi, vii

12 Ibid, p xiii.

13 *Cf* Hoernle, op. cit, p 341.

because his *Tatvārthādhigama Sūtra* has found several commentators in the South Chief among these are Samantabhadra, Pūjyapāda, Akalanka, Vidyānanda, Prabhācandra, and Śrutasāgara The importance of Umāsvāti's work may be judged both by the number and extent of these commentaries Samantabhadra's commentary entitled *Gandhahasti-Mahābhāsya* is supposed to have run into 84,000 *Ślokas*, but unfortunately the work is not extant [14]

About Samantabhadra's date, as well as, of all these early writers, there is the greatest diversity of opinion "The chronology of all the early Jaina writers who used Sanskrit and wrote on philosophy," says Mr E P Rice, "depends on the date of Umāsvāti, whose *Tatvārthādhigama-Sūtra* is the fountain-head of Jaina philosophy and also of the use of Sanskrit by the Jainas This date cannot be earlier than the fourth century, for he quotes* the *Yōga-sūtra* which cannot be dated earlier than A D 300 Samantabhadra wrote a commentary on Umāsvāti's great work, and the earliest author who quotes him is Kumārila, who flourished A D 700 Thus Samantabhadra must belong to the fifth, sixth or seventh century" [15] If the *Yōga-Sūtra* referred to by Rice is that of Patanjali, (as it must be, because there is no other work of that name), then it must date from the third or at least second century B C and not 3rd cent A D,[16] in which case it does not preclude the possibility of Umāsvāti having lived in the first century A D as mentioned above Hence, the date of Samantabhadra need not necessarily be so late as that mentioned by Mr E P Rice The late Mr Lewis Rice, who in his *Mysore and Coorg* assigned

14 Hirālāl, op cit, pp, pp ix x

* It is however, possible that Umāsvāti does not *quote* from the *Yōga-sūtra* and that the identity is quite accidental or due to a common source

15 Rice (E P), *Kanarese literature*, p. 41

16 *Cf* Macdonell, Sanskrit Literature, Imp Gaz II, p 257; S'ris'a Chandra Vasu, Introduction to *Patanjali's Yoga Sūtras*, p 1, and P. C. Chakravarti, Patanjali, I H Q II, pp 74, 265 f.

720 A. D. as the probable date of Samantabhadra, agrees to the earlier (2nd cent A. D) date in his revised edition of *Coorg Inscriptions* [17] This is also the date according to the Paṭṭāvalis [18]

Much of what is known of Samantabhadra is merely legendary Nevertheless, in the Śravaṇa Beḷgola inscription, already referred to, he is described as 'one whose sayings are an adamantine goad to the elephant the disputant, and by whose power this whole earth became barren (*i e* was rid) of even the talk of false speakers ' ' The clear jewel lamp of Samantabhadra's sayings,' it says, ' lights up indeed the whole palace of the three worlds which is filled with all the categories stamped with the *Syātkāra* and whose interior is concealed by the darkness of the sayings of false speakers ' [19] That he must have been a very great disputant is also indicated by the title " Vādi-mukhya " given to him in the *Anêkānta-jayapatāka* by Haribhadrasūri, a Śvetāmbara writer [20] Samantabhadra is in fact the last among Digambara teachers who find a place in the Śvetāmbara lists as well. According to these latter he was their sixteenth pontiff, 889 A V or c 419 A D [21] His *Āpta-mīmamsa*, perhaps his best known work, is supposed to be the introductory portion of his *Gandahasti-mahābhāsya* already referred to. The colophon to this work, as preserved in a manuscript now in the possession of Pt. Dorabali-Śāstri of Śravana Belgola, reads

इति फणिमंडलालंकारस्योरगपुराधिपसूनोः श्रीस्वामिसमंतभद्रमुने· कृतौ आप्तमीमांसायाम् । [22]

The Uragapura spoken of in this is identified with Uraiyoor the capital of the Colas But this fact needs confirmation [23] However, his activities seem to have spread over the whole of

17 *Cf* Rice, Mysore and Coorg Inscriptions, Ep. Car I p. 4 n 1
18 Hoernle op cit, p 341
19 Ep Car II, SB 254, Trans, p 110
20 *Jaina Sāhitya samsôdhak* I, pp. 19–20, *cf* Hirālāl, op cit, p x
21 Ibid, p x
22 Ibid., p xi.
23 Ibid.

India from Takka or Punjab in the North to Kānci, the capital of the Pallavas in the South The legendary details of his life need not detain us, but the following challenge given out by him at Karhātaka deserves citation —

"At first the drum was beaten by me (as a challenge to disputants) within the city of Pātaliputra, and afterwards in the country of Mālva, Sindhu, and Takka (Punjab), at Kānci, and Vidiśa (Bhilsa) I have now arrived at Karhāṭaka. Desirous of disputation, O King, I exhibit *Śārdula-vikriḍita* metre (lit sporting of a tiger) When the disputant Samantabhadra stands in the court, O King, even the tongue of Dhūrjati (Śiva) who talks clearly and skilfully, turns back quickly towards the nape of the neck What hope can there be for others?"[24] Commenting on this Mr Rice observes, "It was the custom in those days, alluded to by Fā Hian (400) and Hieun Tsang (630) for a drum to be fixed in a public place in the city, and any learned man, wishing to propagate a doctrine or prove his erudition and skill in debate, would strike by way of challenge to disputation, much as Luther nailed up his thesis on the door of the church at Wittenberg Samantabhadra made full use of this custom, and powerfully maintained the Jaina doctrine of *Syādvāda*"[25] Interesting corroboration of this is found in the instance of Vimalacandra who is said to have put up a notice at the gate of the palace of Śatrubhayankara, challenging the Śaivas, Pāśupatas, Baudhas, Kāpālikas, and Kapilas to engage him in disputation[26]

Samantabhadra's another well known work is the *Ratnakarandaka-Śravakācāra* or the Jewel Casket of Laymen's Conduct We have elsewhere quoted a verse from this book relating to

24 पूर्वं पाटलिपुत्रमध्यनगरे भेरी मया ताडिता
पश्चान्मालवसिंधुठक्कविषये काचीपुरे वैदिशे ।
प्राप्तोऽहं करहाटकं बहुभटं विद्योत्कट संकटं
वादार्थी विचराम्यहं नरपते शार्दूलविक्रीडितम् ॥
M D, J G XXIV, Introd, pp 64-70, Ep Car II Introd pp 83-4

25 Rice, (E P) op cit p 26

26 Cf Ep Car. II Introd, p 84

Sallêkhana or death by starvation " The fruit of *Dharma*," it says, " is to distroy birth, disease, old-age and death

" Like the melted and purified gold which is free from all dirt and foreign substances, the liberated soul shines, being freed from all attachments "

" Unlimited happiness, unlimited knowledge, unlimited power and unlimited perception are found in a person who has conquered the *karmas*

" The disease of *karma* is distroyed when Lust, Anger, and Delusion are destroyed

" The Casket of Gems, shows the *Môksa-mārga* (Path to Salvation) to those who do not know it before

" The undestroyed *karmas* can be destroyed , the status of *Siddha*-hood can be attained Therefore look ye into the Casket of Gems "

It relates the various *vrtas* or vows to be undertaken, and describes eleven stages in the layman's path of spiritual progress " As the effect of giving *dāna*," it says, " one enjoys prosperity and happiness till he frees himself from this *Sāmsāra* The giving of food to homeless ascetics causes the removal of the sins incidental to a house-holder's life "[27]

Besides the *Ratnakarandaka* and *Āptamīmāmsā*, Samantabhadra wrote several other minor works like the *Jina-satakālamkara* or *Jina-stuti-śataka* and *Svayambhū-stôtra* and others [28] These are characterised by a deep devotion which was a strong trait in the character of Samantabhadra The following lines from his *Jinastuti-sataka* will serve as a sample —

सुश्रद्धा मम ते मते स्मतिरपि त्वय्यर्चनं चापिते
हस्तावंजलये कथाश्रुतिरत कर्णोऽक्षि संप्रेक्षते ।
सुस्तुत्या व्यसनं शिरोनतिपरं सेवेदृशी येन ते
तेजस्वी सुजनोऽहमेव सुकृती तेनैव तेजःपते ॥ [29]

27 Mallināth, *Casket of Gems*, (trans from Tamil), *The Jaina Gazette*, XX, pp. 61, 97 and 118-19.

28 Hirālāl, op cit , op cit , p. x, *Cf* Rice, Mysore and Coorg I, p 399.

29 M.D.J.G. XXIV, Introd., p. 65.

The advent of this great writer in Karnātaka is rightly considered to mark an epoch, not only in Digambara histroy, but in the whole range of Sanskrit letrature [30]

After Samantabhadra, the great names are those of Pūjyapāda and Akalanka [31] The former seems to have distinguished himself by his study of grammer as the latter did in logic "A Pūjyapāda in grammer, a Bhattākalanka in logic, and Bhāravi in literature" are expressions that are frequently met with in the inscriptions which describe the learning of other writers like Jinacandra and Śrutamuni [32] From a verse in the *Pattāvalis* which reads —

यशः कीर्तिर्यशोनंदी देवनंदी महायतिः ॥
श्रीपूज्यपादापराख्यो गुणनंदी गुणाकरः ॥

Mr K B Pāthak has pointed out that Dêvanandi was also another name of Pūjyapāda [33] The latter appears to have been a mere title (lit meaning one whose feet were adorable) for he seems to have acquired it because of forest deities who worshiped at his feet He was also called *Jinêndra-buddhi* on account of his great learning, and his most famous work is consequently known as *Jainendra-vyākarana* or the grammar of Jinendra-buddhi [34] Peterson observes that this book belongs to a class of works for which both sects of the Jainas contend, but in his opinion it is undoubtedly peculiar to the Digambaras "The rival sect," he says, "as good as admits this when they assert, as they invariably do, that their recension of the *Jainêndra* is in eight, not five, *adhyāyas* There appears to be no such work in existence as a *Jainêndra* in eight *adhyāyas*, and when they are hard-pressed the Śwetāmbaras can only put forward Hêmachandra's book, and claim for it that title " This being so, he

30 *Cf* Bhandārkar, The Bom Gaz I ii, p 406
31 *Cf* Ep Car II, SB 64 and Introd, pp 84-85
32 Ibid SB 69 and 254
33 *Cf* Pāthak, Ind Ant XII, p 19, Peterson, Report on San. MSS VI, pp 67-9
34 Ep. Car. II SB. 254, Trans., p. 110.

concludes, "it is evident that the question of the authorship of the book cannot be disposed of without a reference to the tradition among the Digambara Jainas and to their written records "[35] *Pancavāstuka*, the best commentary on *Jainêndra*, is also supposed to be the work of Pūjyapāda or Devanandi, and according to Peterson it has for all practical purposes supplanted the original *Pānini-śabdāvatāra* is another grammatical work traditionally considered to be a commentary on Pānini's grammar by Pūjyapāda Somadeva refers to *Jainēndra* together with Pānini as grammars taught to the pupils, and Vôpadêva counts it among the eight original authorities on Sanskrit grammar[36]

Besides these grammatical works Pūjyapāda wrote treatises on other subjects as well His *Kalyānakāraka*, a treatise on medicine, long continued to be an authority on the subject, and was translated into Kannada by Jeyaddaḷa Somanātha in the twelveth century The treatment it prescribes is entirely vegetarian and non-alcoholic[37] Mangarāja I (c 1360) also quotes Pūjyapāda, in his *Khagêndra-manidarpana* a work on medicine[38] Pūjyapāda's *Sarvārtha Siddhi* is an elaborate commentary on the *Tattvārtha-sūtra* of Umāsvāti, comprising about 5,500 *s'lokas*, and *Upāsakācāra* is a short handbook of ethics for the Jaina laity[39] He appears to have travelled widely in South India and gone so far North as Videha or Behar The founder of the Drāvida-Saṁgha at Madura (śaka 526), Vajranandi, is supposed to have been his disciple[40] Pūjyapāda has also been described as the preceptor of Durvinīta Ganga (483–512 A D), whereas Niravadya Pandita, preceptor of Jayasimha II, (Cālukya) has been called the house-pupil of Śrī Pūjyapāda According to Bhandārkar,

35 Peterson, op cit, p 69
36 Rice (E P) op, cit, p 110,
37 Ibid, pp 27 37
38 Ibid, p 45.
39 Hirālāl, op. cit, p. xx
40 *Cf*. Peterson, op. cit. III, p. 377.

therefore, he must have flourished about 678 A.D [41] Mr. Hırālāl assigns him to about 500 A. D [42] Consequently it is impossible for us to arrive at any definite conclusion as to the exact date of this great teacher.

The facts relating to Akalanka are not less obscure than those we have attempted to notice above Yet, that these writers were historic persons who exerised tremendous influence in their own days is equally certain Tradition makes Akalanka a son of Śubhatunga, King of Mānyakheta, who is identified with Kṛṣṇa I, Rāṣṭrakūta, who reigned during the latter half of the eighth century A D He is supposed to have forsaken his father's kingdom for the sake of adopting an ascetic's life And Peterson observes, that such action is characteristic of the times when "Kings were the nursing fathers and queens the nursing mothers of the religion he embraced" [43] Akalanka is said to have challenged the Buddhists at the court of King Hastimalla (Himaśītala?) of Kānci, saying that the defeated party should be ground in oil-mills The Buddhists were driven into Ceylon owing to the victory of the Jaina teacher through the intervention of the goddess Kusmāndini [44] But this may be only understood as a legendary description of Akalanka's victorious logic which made his name proverbial as a "Bhattākalanka in logic," applied to later writers [45] His most famous work is the *Tatvārtha-vārtika-vyākhyālankāra* which again is a commentary on Umāsvati's *Tatvārtha-sūtra* He also wrote the *Astaśati* on which *Astasahasrī* or the Book of Eight Thousand verses by Vidyānanda is a commentary Akalanka is classed among the *Nayyāyikas* or great logicians [46] Rice has observed that according to Wilson, Akalanka was from Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, but that a

41 Bhandārkar, *Early History of the Dekkan*, p 59
42 Hırālāl, op cit, p xx
43 Peterson, op cit IV, p 79, *cf.* Nāthuram Premi, *Vidvadratnamālu* I, pp 23-4
44 *Cf.* Ep Car II Introd, p 84; Hırālāl, op cit, pp. xxvi-viii.
45 *Cf.* Ibid., SB 69 & 254
46 Hirālāl, op. cit., pp. xx, xxvi f; Peterson, op. cit., p. 79.

manuscript in his possession makes him a *yati* of Malêyūr. Bhaṭṭākalanka being the title of the line of *gurus* of that place [47]

Among the later successors of Akalanka, Prabhācandra stands pre-eminent as the author of *Nyāya-kumuda-candrôdaya* and *Pramêya-Kamala-mārtāṇḍa* There is also in the Saraswati Bhavana (Bombay) a manuscript entitled *Jainêndra-Nyāsa*, and another called *Amôgha-vṛtti-Nyāsa*, both of which are grammatical works by Prabhācandra, being commentaries on Śākaṭāyana's grammar [48]

Śākatāyana (to be distinguished from his Vedic namesake) was a contemporary of Amoghavarṣa I Rāstrakūta The author called his work *Amôghavṛtti* in honour of the King under whose patronage he evidently wrote it There are several commentaries on the *Amôghavṛtti*, of which that by Yaksavarma runs into 6,000 ślokas The extent of the original, though it is not available, is easily conceivable since Yaksavarma's work is only an abridgment of the *Mahāvṛtti* as he calls Śākatāyana's book [49]

It was under the Rāstrakūtas that considerable literary activities were carried on by the Jainas We have already referred to some of the works of this period in our historical survey of the dynasty We can only take note of the more important ones here Bhandārkar places the earliest limit of these writers with Vidyānanda and Prabhācandra [50] The latter has already been noticed as the disciple of Akalanka Vidyānanda is known by his *Śloka-vārtika* and *Astasahasri*, the latter of which, as already mentioned, is a commentary on the *Āptamimāmsa* Jinasena, in his *Ādipurāna* refers to him as Pātrakesari [51] More interesting works of this period are the

47 Rice, op cit, p 372

48 Sri Ailak Pannālal Digambara Jaina Saraswati Bhavana, First Annual Report and List of Books, p 40, ibid Third Report, p 38

49 *Cf.* Hirālāl, op. cit, p xxv, Pāthak, J S'ākaṭāyana Contemporary of Amoghavarṣa I, Ind Ant XLIII, pp 205-07

50 Bhandārkar, The Bom Gaz I, pp 407-08

51 Hirālāl, op cit, pp xxviii-ix This identification is questioned by later writers. See the Jugalkisora in *Anekanta*.

great *purānas* written by the Jainas in obvious imitation of the Brāhmanical works of the same class. The earliest complete Jaina version in Sanskrit of the *Rāmāyana* (or the Rāma legend) is said to be the *Padmapurāna* by Ravisênācārya. Mr. Hirālāl observes that all later writers on the subject based their accounts on this *Padmapurāna* The incidents in it are placed at the time of Nêminātha, their sixteenth Tīrthankara.[51a] Rāma as well as Rāvana are both claimed to be Jaina. Unlike Vālmiki's version, Seeta is here represented as being born in the human womb of the queen of Videha Daśaratha did not die of sorrow, but retired into the forest to lead the life of an ascetic Vāli, Sugriva, Hanumān and the hosts of monkeys were but powerful rulers of the forest regions Instead of Rāma's killing Vāli, the latter is made to renounce his kingdom in order to do penance like Daśaratha Laxmana, instead of reviving from his trance by means of the miraculous *sanjivini*, does so owing to the charming presence of a virtuous lady named Viśalyā, whom he ultimately marries These and other such details mark this Jaina version of the *Rāmāyana*[52]

The theme was taken up by many another Jaina poet, and Jinadāsa in his *Rāmacarita* writes

श्रीमद्रामचरित्रमुत्तममिदं नानाकथापूरितम् ।
पापध्वांतविनाशनैकतरणिं कारुण्यवल्लीवनम् ।
भव्यश्रेणिमनःप्रमोदसदनं भक्त्यानघं कीर्तितम् ।
नानासत्पुरुषाश्रिवेष्टितयुतं पुण्यं शुभं पावनम् ॥ १८० ॥
श्रीवर्धमानेन जिनेश्वरेण त्रैलोक्यवन्द्येन यदुक्तमादौ ।
ततः परं गौतमसंज्ञकेन गणेश्वरेण प्रथितं जनानां ॥ १८१ ॥
ततः क्रमाच्छ्रीरविषेणनाम्नाऽऽचार्येण जैनागमकोविदेन ।
सत्काव्यकेलीसदनेन पृथ्व्यां नीतं प्रसिद्धिं चरितं रघोश्च ॥१८२॥[53]

So we see that Ravisêna got the tradition from Mahāvīra himself, handed down through the whole line of teachers in the

51a Prof A N Upadhya corrects me here as Munisuvrata, the 20th Tīrthankara.

52 Cf Ibid p xxi

53 S'ri, Ailak Pannālāl Digambara Jaina Saraswati Bhavana, Second Annual Report, p 80.

course of centuries. But the queer incongruity of the attempt to reconcile the concupiscence of Rāvaṇa with the artificially created Jaina atmosphere is clearly revealed in the *Pampa Rāmāyaṇa* by Nāgacandra which is another Jaina version of the epic in Kannaḍa (c 1105 A.D)[54]

On hearing of the complete recovery of Laxmaṇa the ministers of Rāvaṇa advised him that prudence was the better part of valour, and told him that the two brothers (Rāma and Laxmana) would be more than a match for Rāvana But the haughty prince with vanity equal to his evil intentions declared

"Shall I, who made e'en Svarga's lord
Before my feet to fall,
Now meekly yield me,—overawed
By this mere princeling small ?
Nay, better 'twere, if so must be,
My life be from me reft
I still could boast, what most I prize,
A warrior's honour left (!).
Nathless, to make my victory sure,
I'll have recourse to magic lore
There is a spell, the śāstras tell,
which multiplies the form.
If this rare power I may attain,
I'll seem to haunt the battle-plain
My 'wildered enemies shall see,
Before, behind, to left, to right,
Phantasmal Rāvana crowd to fight,
Whom darts shall strike in vain
Its name is *bahu-rūpini*,
"*Tis won by stern austerity*"

(worthy of a nobler cause)

'That nothing might impede him in the acquiring of the magic power, Rāvaṇa issued orders that throughout Lankā and its

54 Cf Rice (E P.), op cit, pp. 84-6.

territories *no animal life should on any account be taken*; that his warriors should for a time desist from fighting, and that *all his subjects should be diligent in performing the rites of Jina-pūja.*

Then entered he the Jaina fane
His palace walls within,
Attendant priests before him bore
The sacred vessels, as prescribed
In books of holy lore.
And there to lord Śāntiśwara
He lowly revenence paid,
Omitting no due ritual
That might secure his aid

After worship had been performed with due solemnity, he took a vow of silent meditation, and seating himself in the *padmāsana* posture, began a course of rigorous concentration of mind and suppression of the bodily senses

And there he sat, like a statue fixed,
And not a wandering thought was mixed
With his abstraction deep
Upon his hand a chaplet hung,
With beads of priceless value strung
And on it he did ceaseless tell
The mantras that would serve him well

When Bibhīsana learned through spies what Rāvana was doing, he hastened to Rāma, and urged him to attack and slay Rāvana before he could fortify himself with his new and formidable power But Rāma replied

"Rāvaṇa has sought Jinêndra's aid
In true religious form
It is not meet that we should fight
With one engaged in holy rite,
His weapons laid aside
I do not fear his purpose fell
No magic spell can serve him well
Who steals his neighbour's bride."

Bibhiṣaṇa and Angada are disappointed with this reply, and resolve to try and break Rāvaṇa's devotions without the knowledge of Rāma So they send some of the monkey-bannered troops to disturb him

They rush toward the town in swarms upon swarms,
They trample the corn, and they damage the farms,
They frighten and chevy the maidens about,
And all through the temple they shriek and they shout,
And make a most fearful din.
  But Rāvana stirred not,—as still as a stone,
  His mind was intent on his *japa* alone

Then the *yaksas*, or guardian spirits of the Jina shrine, interpose, drive forth the intruders, and appeal to Rāma and Laxmana to withdraw them Finally it is arranged that anything may be done to break Rāvana's devotions, so long as his life is not taken and the palace and temples are not destroyed

Then Angada, heir to Kiskindha's wide soil,
Determines himself Rāvana's penance to spoil
He mounts on Kiskindha, his elephant proud,
And round him his ape-bannered followers crowd
He rides through the suburbs of Lankā's fair town,
Admiring its beauty, its groves of renown.
He enters the palace, goes alone to the fane,
With reverence he walks round Śāntiśwara's shrine,
And in lowliness worships the image divine
When—sudden—he sees giant Rāvaṇa there,
Seated, still as some mountain, absorbed in his prayer!
Surprised and indignant, in anger he speaks —
"What! miscreant, hypocrite, villain! dost *thou*
"In holiest temple thy proud forehead bow
"Who has right ways forsaken, thy lineage disgraced,
"The good hast imprisoned, the harmless oppressed,
"And hast snatched from thy neighbour his virtuous wife.
"How canst *thou* dare to pray in Santiśwara's hall!
"Better think on thy misdeeds, and turn from them all,

"Know by Rāma's keen arrows in death thou shalt fall!
"And no magical rite the dread doom can forestall
"When the flames round thy palace leap higher and higher
"Too late thou digg'st wells to extinguish the fire!"

Thus saying, he tore off Rāvana's upper garment and smote him with it, he scattered the beads of his chaplet upon the ground, he stripped Rāvaṇa's queen of her jewels, and slandered her sorely, he tied her maidens in pairs by the hair of their heads, he snatched off their necklaces and hung them round the necks of the Jaina images, and he defied and insulted Rāvaṇa in every possible way

The poor trembling women were frantic with fear,
And tried to rouse Rāvaṇa. They bawled in his ear–
"*What is the good of thy japa? Rise, save us from shame,*
"Rise quickly and fight for thine ancient good name"
But Rāvaṇa heard not, nor muscle did move,–
As fixed as the Pole Star in heaven above
Then a thunderbolt's crash rent the firmament wide,
And adown the bright flash did a *yaksini* glide,
And swifty took station at Rāvaṇa's side,
"I have come at thy bidding," the visitant said,
"I can lay on the field all thy enemies dead,–
"Save Hanumān, Laxmaṇa and Rāma divine,
"Who are guarded by might that is greater than mine"
"Alas!" answered Rāvana, with spirit depressed,
"If those three remain, what availeth the rest?"[55]

This long quotation must serve to show that Paurāṇic Jainism was a reflex of Paurāṇic Brāhmanism, and no improvement upon the latter except in the mitigation, within certain limits, of the elements of exaggeration The dominance of ritual over ethics is clearly visible in the picture of Rāvaṇa presented above The *Munivamśābhyudaya* of Cidānandakavi, as well as, inscriptions in Coorg, attempt to give a tone of reality to these descriptions by stating, for instance, that the

55 *Cf.* Ibid., pp 39-41.

images of Gommaṭa and Pārśvanātha at Beḷgoḷa were brought from Lankā by Rāma and Seetā, and that several *bastis* in Coorg were built by these heroes of epic India [56]

As there are Jaina versions of the *Rāmāyana* so are there Jaina versions of the *Mahābhārata.* One of the most important of them is the *Harivamśa-Purāna,* by Jinasêna It deals with ancient dynasties like the Kurus, the Pāndavas and the Yādavas cast in Jaina moulds and devoted to Jaina worship "The transferences and adaptations made in some of the stories," observes Rajendralāl Mitra, "are remarkable and suggestive For instance, the rape of Sītā by Rāvana is transferred to the history of the Pāṇḍu brothers, whose wife Draupadi is said to have been carried away by one Padmanābha, King of Amarakankapura, who lived beyond the ocean, whence the Pāndavas rescued her Again, the story of the lac-house in which Duryodhana wished to assassinate the Pāndus is described as a device adopted by Kṛṣna to elude from the army of Jarāsandha which had pressed him very hard and was about to take him prisoner *For a right appreciation of the true bearing of the Hindu legends the accounts given in this work are of great value* "[57]

In the vernacular garb, the *Vikramārjuna Vijaya* or more popularly called after the author, *Pampa Bhārata,* is the earliest extant version of the epic in Kannada This Pampa is different from the author of the *Rāmāyana* already quoted in extenso, and is distinguished by the epithet "Ādi Pampa" or the first Pampa His first work was *Ādi Purāna* relating the history of Ṛṣabha, the first Tīrthankara, composed in 941 when the poet was thirty-nine years of age In the estimation of Mr Narasimhāchār, this work is "unsurpassed in style among the Kanarese poets" [58] The distinctive features of the *Pampa Bhārata* are thus pointed out by Mr. E P. Rice:

56 *Cf.* Ep Car II Introd, p 15, Rice, Coorg Inscriptions, Ep. Car. I Introd., p 13

57 Rajendralāl Mitra, Notices of Sanskrit MSS. VI Preface, pp. 4-5.

58 *Cf.* Rice (E. P.) op. cit, pp. 30-31

Unlike Vyāsa's version, (i) Draupadi is the wife of Arjuna alone, and not of all the Pāndava brothers, (ii) Arjuna is the principal hero and the epic closes with his coronation together with Subhadrā, at Hastināpura, (iii) the poet deliberately identifies Arjuna with Arikesari, his patron, and compares him to Viṣnu, Śiva, the Sun, Cupid, etc. Rice finds in this an oriental parallel to Spencer's '*Faerie Queen*' in which Gloriana is Queen Elizabeth This according to him is the only defect of the poem, which otherwise is important as being less Sanskrit in vocabulary than the *Ādi Purāna* It is interesting to note that the poet was rewarded with the grant of a village for this immortal work [59]

The Jinasêna, author of the *Harivamśa Purāna* above referred to, is different from the author of the *Ādi Purāna*, according to Mr Hirālāl The former belonged to the *Punnāta-gana*, whereas the latter was of the *Sêna-gana* [60] Apart from the repetition of the names of the authors there is also a confusing repetition of the titles of works such as *Ādi Purāna*, *Harivamśa Purāna* and *Mahā Purāna*. Indeed, the conventional standards in the realm of iconography and painting, noticed in a later chapter, resulting in the repetition of the same forms and stereotyped expression, also resulted in the choosing of the same subject by different writers in the course of centuries Thus, we have one *Ādi Purāna* by Jinasêna, and another by Pampa, one *Mahā Purāna* by Jinasêna and Guṇabhadra, another by Puśpadanta,[61] and a third by Mallisêna,[62] *Harivamśa Purāna* by the first Jinasêna, and *Harivamśa Purāna* by the second Jinasêna and his disciple (same as *Mahā Purāna*) and a third *Harivamśa Purāna* by Jinadāsa [63] Since these are all of the same type, we shall here take note only of the most important, *viz*, the *Mahā Purāṇa* of Jinasêna and Guṇabhadra.

59 Ibid, p 31
60 Hirālāl, op cit, p xxii, *cf.* Nāthuram Prêmi, op. cit., pp. 8, 39. f
61 Ibid, p. xlii f
62 *Cf.* Nāthuram Premi, op. cit. pp. 154-55
63 Bhandārkar, Report on Sanskrit MSS. 1883-84, p. 123.

Jinasêna was one of a series of celebrated Digambara Jaina authors, who came to the front propagating their religion, and increasing the power of their sect as they did so, during the earlier part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period[64] He was the disciple of Vīrasêna to whom is ascribed the *Jayadhavala-ṭīkā* It is a commentary on the *Ṣatkhaṇḍāgamasūtra*[65] This work was completed by Jinasena in Śaka 760 during the reign of Amoghavarṣa I, the *Ādi Purāna* was commenced soon after. Its sequel, called the *Uttara Purāna*, was developed in Śaka 820 by Guṇabhadra, the pupil of Jinasêna[66] Both these writers are highly spoken of by competent critics

According to Bhandārkar, the *Ādi Purāṇa* is an encyclopaedic work "in which there are instances of all metres and figures, which sets forth the doctrines of all the *śāstras* incidentally, is calculated to put to shame all other poems, and is worthy of being read even by the learned[67] In the opinion of a later Jaina poet, cited by Pt Nāthurām Prêmi, "whose minds will not be drawn away by words emanating from the lotus-face of Jinasêna, the king of poets, in whose *Mahā Purāna* are Dharma, Môksa, Right Conduct and Poetry, all rolled in one ?"

धर्मोऽत्र मुक्तिपदमत्र कवित्वमत्र
तीर्थेशिना चरितमत्र महापुराणे ।
यद्वा कवींद्रजिनसेनमुखारविंद-
निर्यद्वचांसि न मनांसि हरंति केषाम् ॥ [68]

The following verse must serve as a sample of its poetic merit

यत्र शालीवनोपान्ते खात्पतन्तीं शुकावलीं ।
शालिगोप्याऽनुमन्यंते दधतीं तोरणश्रियम् ॥ [69]

Describing a rural scene the poet says, the pastoral maidens, seeing a line of parrots descending into the rice-fields, thought it to be the arch of prosperity

64 *Cf* Bhandārkar, The Bom Gaz I ii, pp 406-07
65 *Cf* Ep Car II Introd, p 89, Hīrālāl, op cit, p xxiii
66 Ibid, pp xxiii iv Bhandārkar, Report on San MSS, 1883-84, pp 120-21
67 *Ibid*, p 120
68 Nāthuram Premi, op. cit, pp 65-6
69 *Ādi Purāṇa* IV 6, *cf* Nāthuram Premi, op cit, p 69.

The poet's high ideal of the function of his art is thus stated by him :

त एव कवयो लोके त एव च विचक्षणाः ।
येषां धर्मकथागत्वं भारती प्रतिपद्यते ॥
धर्मानुबंधिनी या स्यात्कविता सैव शस्यते ।
शेषा पापास्रवायैव सुप्रयुक्तापि जायते ॥ [70]

'They alone are true poets in this world, they alone are truly wise, in whom speech (poetry) engenders the embodiment of *Dharma* ; that poetry alone rules which is in accordance with righteousness , the rest, however amiable it might seem, tends to wickedness and bondage '

According to Mr Prêmi, Guṇabhadra has attained the same success in completing the later portion of the *Mahā Purāna* as Bāṇabhaṭṭa's son had attained in completing the *Kādambari* of his father Out of due humility, Gunabhadra compares his own task to the completion of a building the major portion of which has already been constructed by another , or better still

इक्षोरिवास्य पूर्वार्धमेवाभावि रसावहम् ।
यथा तथास्तु निष्पत्तिरिति प्रारभ्यते मया ॥ [71]

Again he declares

गुरूणामेव माहात्म्यं यदपि स्वादु मद्वचः ।
तरूणां हि स्वभावोऽसौ यत्फलं स्वादु जायते ॥

'If my words are sweet they only declare the greatness of my *guru*, just as the sweetness of the fruit is but the outcome of the nature of the tree '

निर्यांति हृदयाद्वाचो हृदि मे गुरव. स्थिताः ।
ते तत्र संस्करिष्यंते तन्न मेऽत्र परिश्रमः ॥

'My task is only to transcribe here what my gurus seated in my heart engender in the speech proceeding from my heart ' [72]

Another work of importance, written by Jinasêna, is the *Pārśvābhyudaya* [73] "This poem is one of the curiosities of

70 *Ibid* , pp 63–4
71 *Ibid* , p 71
72 *Ibid* , p 72
73 *Ibid* , p 58,

Sanskrit literature. It is at once the product and mirror of the litarary taste of the age. Universal judgement assigns the first place among Indian poets to Kālidāsa, but Jinasēna claims to be considered a higher genius than the author of the *Cloud Messenger*"[74] The story relating to the origin of *Pārśvābhyudaya* is too interesting to be omitted It is stated that Kālidāsa came to Bankāpura priding over the production of his *Mēgha Dūta* Being instigated by Vinayasēna, Jinasēna told Kālidāsa that he had pirated the poem from some ancient writer. When challenged by Kālidāsa to prove his statement, Jinasēna pretended that the book he referred to was at a great distance, and could be got only after eight days. Then he came out with his own *Pārśvābhyudaya*, the last line of each verse in which was taken from Kālidāsa The latter is said to have been confounded by this, but Jinasēna finally confessed his whole trickery[75] Gunabhadra, it is well known, completed his *Uttara Purāna* at Bankāpura, and it is certain that he must have concocted[76] this story, though it is a strange way of glorifying his own teacher Guṇabhadra, likewise, modelled his *Ātmānuśāsanam* on the example of Bhartṛhari's *Vairāgyaśatakam*[77]

From these we turn to Somadeva, perhaps by far the most learned of Jaina writers of the South The best known of his works is the *Yaśastilaka-campu*, written in mixed prose and verse "What make Somadeva's works of very great importance," observes Mr Hirālāl, "are the learning of the author which they display, and the masterly style in which they are composed The prose of *Yasastilaka* vies with that of Bāna, and the poetry at places with that of Māgha."[78] According to Peterson, "The *Yaśastilaka* is in itself a work of true poetical

74 J B B R A S. 1894, p 224
75 *Cf* Nāthuram Prēmi, op cit, pp 54-5
76 The authenticity of this story is questioned It is really narrated by Yogirāt Pandita in his commentary on *Pārś'vābhyudaya*
77 *Ibid*, pp 20 75
78 Hiralal, op cit, p xxxii

merit, which nothing but the bitterness of theological hatred would have excluded so long from the list of the classics of India." [79] For an elaborate notice of this work, however, we must refer to Peterson's Report from which the above citation is made. We can find room here only for a few important illustrations In the words of the poet himself,

कर्णाञ्जलिपुटैः पातुं चेतः सूक्तामृते यदि ।
श्रूयतां सोमदेवस्य नव्याः काव्योक्तियुक्तयः ॥
लोकवित्त्वे कवित्वे वा यदि चातुर्यचंचवः ।
सोमदेवकवेः सूक्तीः समभ्यस्यन्तु साधवः ॥
त्रिवर्गविनोदवनवासितकृच्छ्रकेन पुस्तव्यलेखिविलसाद्विपिरम्यकेन ।
श्रीसोमदेवरचितस्य यशोधरस्य सश्लोकमाम्यगुणरत्नमहीधरस्य ॥ [80]

The date and place of composition are thus stated at the end of the work

शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेष्वष्टस्वेकाशीत्यधिकेषु गतेष्वंकतः ८८१ सिद्धार्थसंवत्सरांतर्गतचैत्रमासमदनत्रयोदश्यां पाण्ड्यसिंहलचोलचेरमप्रभृतीन् महीपतीन् प्रसाध्य मेल्पाटी प्रवर्धमानराज्यप्रभावे श्रीकृष्णराजदेवे सति तत्पादपद्मोपजीविनः समधिगतपंचमहाशब्दमहासामंताधिपतेश्चालुक्यकुलजन्मनः सामंतचूडामणेः श्रीमदरिकेसरिणः प्रथमपुत्रस्य श्रीमद्वागराज प्रवर्धमानवसुंधरायां गंगाधरायां विनिर्मापितमिदं काव्यमिति ॥

इति सकलतार्किकलोकचूडामणेः श्रीमन्नेमिदेवभगवतः शिष्येण सद्योनवद्यगद्यपद्यविद्याधरचक्रवर्तिशिखंडमंडनी भवच्चरणकमलेन श्रीसोमदेवसूरिणा विरचिते यशोधरमहाराजचरिते यशस्तिलकापरनाम्नि महाकाव्ये धर्मामृतवर्षमहोत्सवो नामाष्टम आश्वासः ॥ ८ ॥ [81]

It is clear from this that the work was written in Śaka 881 at the court of Arikêsari's son, a Cālukya feaudatory of Krsna III, Rāstrakūta. Nemideva is given as the name of Somadeva's *guru* In the words of Peterson, as already noted, "It represents a lively picture of India at a time when the Buddhist, Jaina, and Brāhmanical religions were still engaged in a contest that drew towards it the attention, and well nigh absorbed the

79 Peterson, op cit IV, p 33

80 *Cf* Sri Aliak Pannālāl Digambara Jaina Saraswati Bhavana Second Report, pp 84–5

81 *Ibid*, p 86

intellectual energies of all thinking men " [82] The last part of the work entitled *Upāsakādhyanam*, divided into forty-six *kalpas* or chapters, is a handbook of popular instruction on Jaina doctrine and devotion.[83]

इयता ग्रंथेन मया प्रोक्तं चरितं यशोधरनृपस्य ।
इत उत्तरं च वक्ष्ये श्रुतपठितमुपासकाध्ययनम् ॥ [84]

Among the authors with whom Somadeva shows his acquaintance are Bhāravi, Bhavabhūti, Bhartrhari, Gunādhya, Vyāsa, Bhāsa, Kālidāsa, Bāṇa, Māgha, Rājaśêkhara , and grammarians like Indra, Candra, Jinêndra, Apiśala and Pānini whose works, he says, were taught during his days Besides, he also makes mention of Aśva-vidyā, Gaja-vidyā, Ratna-parikṣā, Kāma-śāstra, Vaidyaka, etc [85] His other work of considerable interest is the *Nītivākyāmṛta* which is almost verbally modelled on Kautilya's *Artha-śāstra* [86] The mere 'table of contents' of this work is enlightening It has thirty-two chapters which are — (1) धर्मसमुद्देश , (2) अर्थसमुद्देश , (3) कामसमुद्देश., (4) अरिषड्वर्ग , (5) विद्यावृद्ध , (6) आन्वीक्षिकी, (7) त्रयी; (8) वार्ता, (9) दण्डनीति, (10) मन्त्री, (11) पुरोहित, (12) सेनापति, (13) दूत, (14) चार, (15) विचार, (16) व्यसन, (17) स्वामि, (18) अमात्य, (19) जनपद, (20) दुर्ग, (21) कोश, (22) बल, (23) मित्र, (24) राजरक्षा, (25) दिवसानुष्ठान, (26) सदाचार, (27) व्यवहार, (28) विवाद, (29) षाड्गुण्य , (30) युद्ध, (31) विवाह, and (32) प्रकीर्ण At the end is given a Praśasti from which we learn that Somadeva was the younger brother of Mahêndradêva Bhaṭṭāraka who is described as वादीन्द्रकालानलश्रीमहेन्द्रदेवभट्टारक Further we are informed that Somadeva also wrote three other works, (षण्णवति प्रकरण, युक्तिचिंतामणीसूत्र, महेंद्रमातलिसंजल्प) which however are not extant The epithets which he applies to himself with ciceroen pride are certainly worth mentioning, *viz*

82 Peterson, op. cit , p. 33
83 *Ibid* , p 46
84 See n 80 above.
85 For a fuller analysis see *Nītivākyāmrita*, M D. J. G. XXII Introd., pp. 14-17.
86 *Cf. Ibid.*, pp. 1-8.

स्याद्वादाचलसिंहतार्किकचक्रवर्ति वादीभपंचाननवाक्कल्लोलपयोनिधि कविकुलराज-
प्रभृति प्रशस्ति प्रशस्तालंकार......... . ...

Then he asks,

सकलसमयतर्के नाकलंकोऽसि वादी
न भवसि समयोक्तौ हंससिद्धांतदेवः ।
न च वचनविलासे पूज्यपादोऽसि तत्वं ॥
वदसि कथमिदानीं सोमदेवेन सार्धं ॥

'O critic, who art neither an Akalanka in logic, nor a Hamsa-siddhantadêva in scriptures, nor a Pūjyapāda in grammar, on what score art thou coming to discuss with Somadêva?' In other words Somadêva claims to be at least equal to all the three scholars named, in the arts each of them excelled in. And finally he concludes with the words

दर्पांधबोधबुधसिंधुर सिंहनादे
वादिद्विपोद्दलनदुर्धर वाग्विवादे ।
श्रीसोमदेव मुनिपे वचनारसाले
वागीश्वरोऽपि पुरतोऽस्ति न वादकाले ॥[87]

The book is replete with laconic expressions which might be as readily drawn upon with effect as the sayings of Bacon or of Marcus Aurelius, or commented upon with learned parallels in the entire range of Sanskrit literature as done by its anonymous Brāhmanical commentator Indeed, it is a certificate to the universality of this Jaina writer that he has found his only learned commentator from among the non-Jainas But it is considered almost anamolous by the Jainas that the author should have dealt with the subject as he has done[88] For instance, in the विद्यावृद्धसमुद्देश. we find

नित्यनैमित्तिकानुष्ठानस्थो गृहस्थ ॥ १८ ॥
ब्रह्मदेवपित्रातिथिभूतयज्ञोहि नित्यमनुष्ठानम् ॥ २९ ॥

87 *Ibid*, Text, p 406

88 *Cf* "हमारी समजमेंतो इसका जैन धर्मसे बहुतही कममेल खाता है ॥ इस ग्रंथके विद्या-वृद्ध, अन्वीक्षकी और त्रयी समुद्देशोंको अच्छी तरह पढनेसे पाठक हमारे अभिप्रायको अच्छीतरह समज जावेंगे । जैनधर्मज्ञ विद्वानोंको चाहिए इस प्रश्नका विचारपूर्वक समाधान करें कि, एक जैनाचार्यकी कृतीमें आन्वीक्षकी और त्रयीको इतनी प्रधानता क्यों दीगयी है."

Nāthuram Prêmi, op. cit., p 80.

That is, 'those are *gṛhastas* or true house-holders who perform the daily and occasional rites, *yajnas* for the satisfaction of the Creator, the ancestors, and the elements constitute the daily rites' No wonder that the commentator explains this as follows —

टीका—यत्स्वशक्त्या ब्रह्मणः पूजा क्रियते तथाभीष्टदेवतार्चनं तथा पितृतर्पणं तथाकालप्राप्तब्राह्मणतर्पण तथाभूतयज्ञ·। भूतयज्ञशब्देन वैश्वदेवबलिप्रदानमुच्यते। एतानि कुर्वाणो गृहस्थो नित्यानुष्ठायी भवति। तथा च वर्ग :—

पितृदेवमनुष्याणां पूजनं ब्राह्मणैः सह।
बलिप्रदानसंयुक्तं नित्यानुष्ठानमुच्यते॥[89]

As examples of some of Somadeva's proverbial statements we might adduce the following —

(1) हस्तिस्नानमिव सर्वमनुष्ठानमनियमितेंद्रियमनोवृत्तीनाम् ॥ २४ ॥[90]

'Even like the bathing of an elephant (futile) is the ceremonial of a man whose senses and mind are disorderly or uncontrolled'

(2) कालेन सचीयमान परमाणुरपि जायते मेरु ॥ २८ ।[91]

Little grains of sand make a mighty land, lit 'Even atoms saved in course of time form a mountain like Meru'

(3) अनाचरतो मनोरथा· स्वप्नराज्यसमाः ॥ ३२ ॥

'Ideals divorced from practice are kingdoms owned in dreams' In the words of Vallabhadêva, cited by the commentator, 'By exertion alone are achievements made, not through mere intentions, the prey never seeks the mouth of a sleeping lion"[92]

From these specimens of Jaina contributions to Sanskrit literature we must now turn to the vernacular writers

Two of the most noted among the Kannada writers, namely, Âdi Pampa and Abhinava Pampa, authors respectively of the best known versions in Kannaḍa of the *Mahābhārata* and the

89 *Nītivākyāmruta* Text, pp 47-8

90 *Cf* अशुद्धेंद्रियचित्तो य कुरुते काचित्सत्क्रिया।
हस्तिस्नानमिव व्यर्थं तस्य सा परिकीर्तिता॥
Ibid, com p 60

91 Ibid, p 17

92 *Cf* उद्यमेन हि सिध्यन्ति कार्याणि न मनोरथैः।
न हि सुप्तस्य सिंहस्य प्रविशंति मुखे मृगाः॥
Ibid, p 19

Rāmāyana, have already been cited But they were by no means the earliest, nor even the only writers on the subject. "No Indian vernacular," wrote Mr Lewis Rice, "contains a richer or more varied mine of indigenous literature though scarcely at all known or exposed, (than Kanarese), a literature, moreover, which as the product to a great extent of Jain and Lingāyat authors, is independent of Sanskrit and Brāhmanical works "[93] They wrote on all subjects, as we shall notice below, on religion and ethics, on grammar and prosody, on medicine and even natural science, such as was understood in those days Out of the 280 poets (belonging to the period of our survey, noticed by Mr R Narasimhāchār, in his *Karnātaka-Kavicaritrê*), no less than 95 are Jaina poets, the Vīra-śaiva or Lingāyat poets come next, being 90, whereas the Brāhman'cal writers are only 45, and the rest, all included 50[94]

The earliest of these, namely Kaviparamêsti, whom, however, we know only by allusion, goes as far back as at least the 4th century A D[95] Both Jinasena and Gunabhadra, in the *Ādi* and *Uttara* Purāna respectively, speak of him as an earlier writer on the same subject

स पूज्य· कविभिर्लोके कवीनां परमेश्वरः
वागर्थसंग्रहं कृत्स्नं पुराणं य· समग्रहीत् ॥ आ. पु
कविपरमेश्वरनिगदितगद्यकथामातृकं पुरोश्चरितम् ।
सकलच्छंदोलंकृतिलक्ष्यं सूक्ष्मार्थगूढपदरचनम् ॥[96] उ. पु.

But among the writers of whom we know more definitely is Śrīvardhadêva, also called *Tumbulūrācārya* from his birth-place, author of a commentary on the *Tattvārtha Mahāśāstra,* entitled *Cūdāmani,* which is said to have run into 96,000 verses Two facts bring out the greatness of this work Dandin, of the 6th century A D., praises Śrīvardhadêva for having "produced Sarasvati (*i e* learning and eloquence) from the tip of his

93 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* I, p 398

94 Narasimhāchārya, *Karnātaka.Kavicaritrê* I, Indrod. p xxi

95 Rice (E P.), *Kanarese Literature,* pp, 26–27.

96 *Cf.* Nāthurām Prêmi, *Vidvadratnamālā* I, pp. 60, 61.

tongue, as Śiva produced the Ganges from the tip of his top-knot " [97] And Bhattākalanka, the great Kannaḍa grammarian (1604), refers to Śrīvardhadêva's book as the greatest work in the language, and as incontestable proof of the scholarly character and value of Kannada literature.[98] But, unfortunately, no copy of the book has yet been discovered For the earliest extant specimen of Kannada composition by a Jaina writer, we must therefore refer to the inscriptions at Śravana Belgola In one of these dated c 700 A D the death of an ascetic named Nandisena is thus described

ಸುರಚಾಪಂ ಬೋೞೆ ವಿದ್ಯುಲ್ಲತೆಗಳಟೆವೋೞ್ ಮಂಜುವೋೞ್ ತೋಱಿ ಬೇಗಂ ।
ಪಿರಿಗುಂ ಶ್ರೀರೂಪ ಲೀಲಾಧನ ವಿಭವ ಮಹಾರಾಶಿಗಳ್ ನಿಲ್ಲವಾರ್ಗ್ಗಂ ॥
ಪರಮಾರ್ಥಂ ಮೆಚ್ಚೆ ನಾನೀಧರಣಿಯುೞಿರವಾನೆಂದು ಸನ್ಯಾಸನಂಗೆ ।
ಯ್ದುರು ಸತ್ವರ್ ನಂದಿಸೇನ ಪ್ರವರಮುನಿವರರ್ ದೇವಲೋಕಕ್ಕೆ ಸಂದಾರ್[99] ॥ ೪ ॥

'Swift fading as the rainbow's hue
Or lightning flash or morning dew,
To whom do pleasure, wealth, and fame,
For many years remain the same?
Then why should I, whose thoughts aspire
To reach the highest good, desire
Here on the earth long days to spend?
Reflecting thus within his mind,
The noble Nandi Sen
All ties that bound to life resigned,
To quit this world of pain,
And so this best of anchorites
The world of Gods did gain [100]

Kavirājamārga or the 'Royal Road of Poets', attributed by some to the authorship of Amoghavarṣa Rāstrakūta, [101] is the earliest extant work from which we come to know of the

97 *Cf*, Ep Car II SB 54
98 *Cf* Rice (E P), *op cit*, p 27 f, Rice (Lewis), *Mysore and Coorg* I, pp 197-198
99 Ep Car II, SB 88. cf Narasimhāchārya, *S'āsana Padya Manjari*, p 1
100 Rice (E P) op cit, p 22
101 *Cf*, Nāthuram Prêmi, op cit, p, 84.

existence of numerous other writers of an earlier age According to this poet, roughly assigned to the middle of the ninth century A D.,

> ' In all the circle of the earth
> No fairer land you'll find,
> Than that where rich sweet Kannaḍa
> Voices the people's mind
>
> * *
>
> ' The people of that land are skilled
> To speak in rhythmic tone,
> And quick to grasp a poet's thought,
> So kindred to their own
> Not Students only, but the folk
> Untutored in the schools,
> By instinct use and understand
> The strict peotic rules [102]

It is interesting to compare this with the following lines from an inscription at Soraba, of the time of Devaraya I of Vijayanagara (1408) —

> ಜಿನಧರ್ಮಾವಾಸವಾದತ್ತು ಮಳವಿನಯದಾಗರವಾದತ್ತು ಪದ್ಮಾ- |
> ಸನನಿವಾಸದ್ಮಮಾದತ್ತತಿವಿಶದಯಶೋಧಾಮಮಾದತ್ತು ವಿದ್ಯಾ- ॥
> ಧನಜನಸ್ಥಾನಮಾದತ್ತು ಸಮುತ್ತರಳಗಂಭೀರಸರ್ವೇಶಮಾದ- |
> ತ್ತೆನಿಸಲ್ಕಿಂತುಳ್ಳ ನಾನಾಮಹಿಮೆಯೊಳೆಸೆಗುಂ ಚಾರುಕರ್ಣಾಟದೇಶಂ ॥ [103]

The poet describes the charming Karnāta country as the home of learning and of *Jina-dharma* We have already seen that this is largely true, and it was during the Golden Age of Jainism under the Gangas that Kannada literature got considerable patronage and impetus Among the prose writers in Kannada referred to in the *Kavirājamārga* is Durvinita, who is identified with the Ganga ruler of that name (482–522 A D) He is said to have been the author of a commentary on the difficult 15th *sarga* of Bhāravi's *Kirātārjunīya* [104] For a more detailed consideration of the patronage of learning under the Gangas

102 *Kavirājamārga* I, 36-9, *cf* Rice (E P) op cit, p 29
103 Narasimhāchārya, op cit, p 260, Soraba 280
104 Rice (E P), op cit, p 28, cf Kudlūr Plates of Mārasimha Ganga, Mysore Archaeological Report 1921, p 20, ibid 1924, p 76

we must refer to the laborious work of the late Mr Lewis Rice, and the Mysore Archaeological Reports. We can here find space for only a few specimens

Mādhava I is said to have been the author of a commentary on the *Dattaka-sūtra,* he is also described as an "expert in the theoretical exposition and practical application of the science of polity," [105] as "a touch-stone for testing gold the learned and the poets," and as "conducting himself agreeably to his culture and modesty". [106] Avinīta is said to have been "worthy of being reckoned first among the learned," and "of a mind filled with learning and modesty," Būtuga as, "a Brahma in learning," "versed in dancing and other accomplishments," Ereyappa as, "a Bharata in the arts of singing, instrumental music, dancing, and other minor arts, an authority to great grammarians, a treasury of speech," etc , and of Rācamalla III or Būtuga II,—"This intelligent prince learnt in his early age the science of politics, riding on elephants and horses, play at ball, wielding the bow and sword, the drama, grammar, medicine, poetry, mathematics, *Bharata-śāstra, Itihāsas* and *Purānas,* dancing, singing, and instrumental music " [107]

A typical scholar of the times is found in Vādighangala Bhatta, who was a learned convert from Brāhmanism He is described in the following terms in the Kudlūr Plates of Mārasimha Ganga who made him a grant (of 20 *gadyānams* in cash and 12 *khandugas* in grain, being the revenue of the village of Bagiyūr) "as *Śruta-guru's* (religious teacher's) fee" —

'Vādighangala was a treasury of the jewels of wisdom, a mine of the pearls of intellect With very little effort and labour on his part all learning came to him in a very short time as though it had been made ready in his previous birth He was the author of a grammatical system free from doubt and controversy He, like Brahma, knew the essense of the science of grammar, and was looked up to as

105 Ibid 1924, pp 68,80-1, cf. Rice, Ep. Car I, p 52
106 Mysore Archaeological Report, 1921, p 19 f
107 Ibid, pp 19-22 See also Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* I, pp 196 ff.

a great authority by grammarians He was well versed in the three schools of logic, and in the Lokāyata, Sānkhya, Vedānta and Baudha systems of philosophy, and in Jainism he became celebrated as Vādighangala He was, besides, an eminent poet Like a sun on the eastern mountain, *Syādvāda*, he destroyed the mass of darkness, arrogant scholars, by the resplendant rise of his learning, cut off the expansion of the lilies, proud disputants, by the rays of his eloquence, and acquired the high distinction of Vādighangala on the earth

'His eloquence in the exposition of literature made king Ganga-Gangeya ('Ganga among the Gangas', *i e* Mārasimha), a cuckoo in the grove of delighters in all learning, his pupil His instruction in politics induced the learned men of Vallabharāja's capital (*i e* Mānyakheta of the Rāṣtrakūtas) to show him great honour, which showed to the world his greatness and remarkable scholarship, and his counsel to Krsnarāja (which enabled him to conquer all the regions), procured for him the king's esteem along with that of all his *Māndalikas* and *Sāmantas*.'[108]

The artistic execution as well as its composition (a Sanskrit *Campu* work of considerable literary merit) make the above record of unique interest, besides its historical value as the longest of the Ganga copper-plate inscriptions giving a full account of their dynasty The Kannada works produced under the Gangas were principally, the *Harivamśa* and *Neminātha Purāna* by Gunavarma I, under Mahêndrāntaka or Ereyappa (886–913 A D), Cāmunda or Cāvunda Rāya's *Triśasti-laksana Mahā-purāna*, better known as *Cāvundarāya-Purāna*, under Rācamalla IV (974–84), and *Chhandômbudhi* or "Ocean of Prosody" by Nāgavarma I (c 984 A D.) Of these, the second is of special interest and importance as the work of the great minister and general who erected the famous colossus at Belgoḷa, and as the oldest extant specimen of a

108 Kudlūr Plates of Mārasimha Ganga, ibid, 1921, pp 23-4,

book written in continuous prose, enabling us, therefore, to gain a knowledge of the language as spoken in the tenth century (978 A D) Nāgavarma's prosody, with additions by later writers, still remains the standard work on the subject in Kannaḍa The work is addressed by the poet to his wife In the *vṛttas*, or metres, each verse is composed so as to be an example of the metre described in it It is said that he also made a translation of Bāna's *Kādambari* in Kannada [109]

Like Ādi Pampa, Nāgavarma too came from Vengi, as also another great writer named Ponna The migration of these three Jaina writers from the Āndhra into the Kannaḍa country is a strong commentary upon the attitude of the two provinces towards Jainism

Ponna lived under the patronage of the Rāstrakūta king Kṛsnarāja (also called Akālavarsa and Anupama, 939–98) On account of his proficiency in Sanskrit as well as Kannada, the poet received the title of *Ubhaya-Kavi-Cakravarti* or 'Imperial Poet in Both Languages' His most famous work is the *Śānti-Purāna*, relating the history of the 16th Tīrthankara He also wrote an acrostic poem entitled *Jināksharamālê*, in praise of the Jinas [110]

Another contemporary writer who deserves mention is Ranna, author of *Ajita Purāna* and *Sāhasa Bhīma Vijaya*, popularly known as the *Gadā-yuddha* or the 'Conflict of Clubs' It describes the incident in the *Mahābhārata* wherein, Bhīma fulfils his vow to break the thighs of Duryôdhana and slay him The work was composed under the patronage of Āhavamalla Cālukya, who is likened by the poet to Bhīma, just as Pampa had done with Arikêsari, in his *Pampa Bhārata* He is chiefly praised for his literary skill, fluency, and fascinating style [111]

We might go on multiplying these instances and the catalogue will still remain unexhausted Hence, for the sake of brevity we classify the remaining writers according to subjects as under.

109 *Cf* Rice (E P), op cit, pp 32–38
110 Ibid, pp 31-2.
111 Ibid, pp 31–2.

Subject	Name of work	Author	Remarks
Purāna	*Mallinātha Purāna*	Nāgacandra *or* Abhinava Pampa	Contemporary of Visnuvardhana Hoysala. Reveals great descriptive power (c 1105 A D)
,,	*Nêminatha Purāna*	Karnapārya	Includes stories from *Mahābhārata* (c 1140)
,,	,,	Nêmicandra	(c 1170) Unfinished Seven more Purānas between these two dates,
,,	,,	Mahābalakavi	(1254)
,,	*Kumudêndu Rāmāyana*	Kumudêndu	In *Shatpadi* (c 1275)
,,	*Punyāśrava*	Nāgarāja	52 tales of Pauranic heroes, illustrative of the duties of householders Tr. from Sanskrit (?). (c 1331)
,,	*Sālva Bhārata*	Sālva	Court Poet of Sālvamalla (c 1550)
,,	*Bharatêśvara Caritrê*	Ratnākaravarni	A Ksatriya of Mudbidrê (c 1557)
,,	*Rāmacandra Carita*	Candraśêkhara and Padmanābha	(c 1700-1750)
,,	*Rāmakathāvatāra*	Dêvacandra	Prose (c 1797)

Linguistic Grammar, Prosody and Glossary	Works on logic, grammar and sāhitya (names ?)	Guṇanandi	Quoted by the grammarian Bhaṭṭākalanka, and called by him Bhagavan 'the adorable one' (c 900)
,,	*Kāvyāvalokana*	Nāgavarma II	This is the fullest work in the language on the subject of poetic composition It deals with Grammar, Faults and Elegances of composition, Style and Poetic Conventions copiously illustrated with quotations from earlier writers, as well as original stanzas. (c 1145)
,,	*Kabbigara-Kāva* or *Sobagina Suggi* or *Madana Vijaya*	Andayya	'Poets Defender' or 'Harvest of Beauty' or 'Cupid's Conquest' The only example in the language without a single *tatsama*, wholly written in *tadbhava* and *dêśya* words. (c 1235).
,,	*Vastu-Kōśa*	Nāgavarma II	Sanskrit Kannada glossary the earliest of its kind in Kannada
,,	*Śabdamaṇidarpana*	Kêśirāja	'Jewel-Mirror of Grammar,' remains to this day the standard early authority on the Kannada language (c 1260)

Subject	Name of work	Author	Remarks
Linguistic Grammar, Prosody and Glossary	*Amarakośavyākhyāna*	Nācirāja	A valuable Kannaḍa commentary on the *Amara-kôśa*. (c 1300)
,,	*Kāvya-sāra*	Abhinava Vādi Vidyānandi	A valuable anthology. (1533)
,,	*Karnātaka Sanjivana*	Sālva	A glossary of words spelt with *ra* and *la* (c. 1600).
,,	*Karnātaka Śabdānu-Śāsana*	Bhattākalanka Dêva	592 Sanskrit *sūtras* Like his predecessors quotes numerous previous authors and Kannada writers (1604).
Scientific Medicine, Mathematics, Astrology, etc	Astrology (Name ?)	Śrīdharācārya	The earliest extant Kannada work on the subject (c 1049). Cites Āryabhaṭa's astronomy (499).
,,	Medicine (*Kalyāna-Kāraka*)	Jagaddala Sômanātha	Translation of Pūjyapāda's Sanskrit work This is the earliest extant Kannada work on the subject Treatment prescribed is wholly vegetarian and non-alcoholic. (c 1150)

Scientific Medicine, Mathematics, Astrology, etc.	Mathematics (Name ?)	Rājāditya	Poetical talents devoted to elucidation of the Mathematical subjects With extraordinary skill he reduced to verse rules and problems in arithmetic, mensuration, etc His writings are the earliest works on these subjects. (c 1100–1160)
„	*Ratta Mata* or *Ratta Sūtra*	Ratta-kavi	A quasi-scientific work on natural phenomena such as rain, earth-quakes, lightning, planets, omens etc. (c 1300)
„	*Khagêndra Manidarpana*	Mangrāja I	(c 1360) Quotes Pūjyapāda
Religion and Ethics	*Dharmāmṛta*	Nayasêna	Fourteen chapters devoted to courage, truthfulness, chastity, justice, etc in easy pleasant style In the preface he says that he has avoided the needless use of Sanskrit works which was the fault of his contemporary writers (1112)
„	*Samaya-pariksā*	Brahma Śiva	A controversial work which justifies Jainism as against rival creeds (c. 1125)

Subject	Name of work	Author	Remarks
Religion and Ethics	*Dharma-parīkṣā*	Vritta-Vilāsa	A Kannada version of Amitagati's (1014) work of the same name (c 1160).
,,	*Tripuradahana*	Śiśumāyana	'Burning of the Triple Fortress' · Birth, Decay and Death — an allegorical poem. The earliest specimen of *Sāngatya*, a form which later came to be much in vogue. (c. 1232)
,,	*Ratna-Karaṇḍaka*	Āyata-varma	"Casket of Jewels" Trans of Samantabhadra's Sanskrit work Deals with the Three Jewels Right Belief, Right Knowledge and Right Conduct. (c 1400 ?).
,,	*Triloka-śataka*	Ratnākaravarni	An account of the universe (heaven, hell and the intervening worlds) as conceived by the Jainas (1557)
,,	*Aparājita-śataka Annagala-pada*	Ratnākaravarṇi	Moral discourses on renunciation 'Songs of the Brothers' on moral and doctrinal subjects, largely current among the Jainas.
,,	*Jnāna-bhāskara caritrê*	Nemaṇṇa	Urges that contemplation and study of the Śāstras are far more valuable than either outward rites or austerities. (c. 1559).

The above list is by no means exhaustive, but only representative. It is based on the accounts given by Mr E P Rice whose History of Kanarese Literature is a valuable guide in English for those who cannot read the precious volumes, *Karnātaka Kavi Caritrê*, by Mr R Narasimhāchār In addition to what has been stated above, we must draw attention to one or two more examples One is that of Kanti, the earliest known Jaina poetess in Kannaḍa. It is related that at the court of Baḷḷāla Rāja (Hoysala) of Dorasamudra the King, in order to test her proficiency, asked Nāgacandra to repeat half a stanza, which Kanti would immediately complete, "somewhat", as Rice points out, "after a fashion recently current in England of completing 'Limericks'" [112] Another example is that of the earliest known Kannada novel, entitled *Līlāvatī*, by Nemicandra "It is written in the usual *champu* in a pleasing style, but," as Rice observes, "disfigured by erotic passages"[113] The story is that of a Kadamba prince who saw in a dream a beautiful princess (the heroine), and she likewise dreamt of him They were unacquainted, but after mutual search and various adventures were ultimately wedded It is based on the Sanskrit romance *Vāsavadatta* by Subandhu (c 610–), but the scene is transferred from Ujjaini to Banavāsê Both Kanti and Nemicandra belonged to the 12th century In respect of the Kannada grammars by Jaina writers, the following remarks by Burnell and Rice are worth recording Of the *Śabdamaṇidarpana*, Burnell wrote, "The great and real merit of the *Śabdamaṇidarpana* is that it bases its rules on independent research and the usage of writers of repute In this way it is far ahead of the Tamil and Telugu treatises, which are much occupied with vain scholastic disputation" [114] In the opinion of Mr Lewis Rice, "This encomium is equally applicable to other Kanarese grammars, which had not been made public in

112 Rice (E P), op cit, p 36

113 Ibid., p 48.

114 Burnell, *Āndhra School of Grammarians*, pp 8, 55.

1875, when Burnell wrote. Nothing is more striking than the wealth of quotation and illustration from previous authors which these grammatical writings contain, and this gives them a high scientific as well as historical value ".[115]

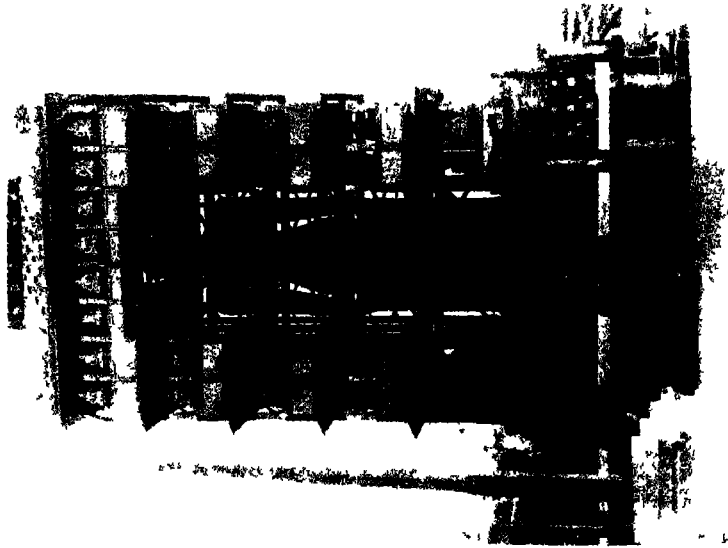
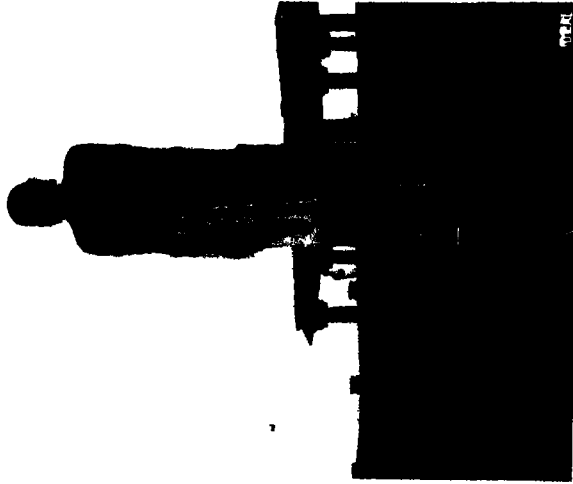
JAINA ART IN KARNATAKA

The most distinctive contribution of Jainism to Art in Karnātaka was in the realm of Iconography. As with everything else in life, the Jainas appear to have carried their spirit of acute analysis and asceticism into the sphere of art and architecture as well There are minute details, for instance, in the *Mānasāra*, a standard book on the subject in South India, according to which,

' The image of a Jina should have only two arms, two eyes, and a cropped head, either standing with legs kept straight or in the *abhanga* manner, or it may be seated in the *padmāsana* posture, wherein also the body must be kept erect The figure should be sculptured as to indicate deep contemplation, the right palm should be kept facing upwards upon the left palm held in the same manner (and both resting on the crossed legs) On the *Simhāsana* on which the image of the Jina is seated (and round the *prabhāvali*) should be shown the figures of Nārada and other *rsis*, hosts of gods (and goddesses), vidyadharas and others, as, either seated or standing in the air, and offering worship to the Jina

' Below the *simhāsana* must be the figures of (other) Jinas in a worshipping attitude, these are the *siddhas* (or *ādisiddhas* ?), the *sugandhas* (*sugatas* ?), *Cahantu* (*carhantās*, i e Arhantas ?), *Jana* (Jina ?) and *pārśvakas*, these five classes are known by the name of *Panca-paramesthins*[115a] The complexions of these are respectively *sphatika* (crystal), white, red, black, and yellow. The central Jina figure should be shaped according to the

115 Cited by E P Rice, op cit, pp III-12

115a This is not correct The Pañcaparamesthis are Arhat, Siddha, Ācārya Upādhyāya and Sādhu

Jaina Colossus at Karkala *(Vide page 103)*

Yenur Gommata *(Vide page 103)*

uttama-daśa-tala measure, whereas those of the *dêvatas* and the twenty-four Tīrthankaras surrounding him in the other (*madhyama* and *adhama*) *daśatala* measures *The body should be perfectly free from ornaments*, but on the right side of the chest (a little over the nipple) there should be the *Śrī-vatsa* mark of golden colour

'On the right and left side of the gate of the temple of Jina, there should be the *dwārapālakas* named *Canda* and *Mahā-Canda* respectively.'[116]

It becomes clear from this extract that there was a regular system of sculpture and architecture to which the workers were expected strictly to conform The excessive deference to ritual prescription, generally recognised as a defect in Hindu art, as Smith observes, is carried to such an extremity by the Jainas, that images differing in age by a thousand years are almost undistinguishable in style The uniformity which runs through the centuries extends all over India, so that little difference between Northern and Southern productions is noticeable, and the genius of individual artists finds small scope for its display[117] The best illustrations of this remark are undoubtedly the three wellknown colossi of Karnātaka, *viz* the statues of Gommaṭeś-vara or Bāhubali at Śravana Belgola, Kārkala, and Yêṇūr or Vènūr The last one is the smallest of the three (35 ft high) and the first the biggest, rising to a height of 56½ ft All the three are carved, each out of a single block of gneiss, giving expression to the same ascetic ideal in the self-same manner, with the exception of the dimples in the cheeks of the Yêṇūr colossus expressing 'a deep, grave smile' They date respectively from about 983 A D, 1432 A D, and 1604 A D[118] All are set on heights of more or less prominence, visible from a considerable distance around, and, despite their formalism,

116 *Mānasāra* ch 55, cf Gopinathrao, Travancore II, pp 118–19

117 Smith, *History of Fine Art in India*, pp 267–68

118 Cf Hultzsch, Jain Colossi in South India, Ep Ind. VII, pp. 108-12 Ep. Car II, Introd, p. 15.

'command respectful attention by their enormous mass and expression of dignified serenity'. That at Kārkaḷa is 41 ft 5 inches high, 10½ ft broad and 10 ft thick, weighing about 80 tons[119] "This is one of those colossal statues that are found in this part of the country", says Walhouse, "statues truly Egyptian in size, and *unrivalled throughout India as detached works* .... Nude, cut from a single mass of granite, darkened by the monsoons of centuries, the vast statue stands upright, with arms hanging straight, but not awkwardly, down the sides in a posture of somewhat stiff but simple dignity.[120]"

This figure of Gommateśwara is indeed known only in Karnāṭaka, and statues of that size are very rare elsewhere[121] Gommaṭeśwara Bāhubali, or Bhujabali is supposed to have been the son of the first Tīrthankara, Vṛsabha, who attained salvation in that position of *Kāyôtsarga* His feet are entwined with weeds and *Kukkuta-sarpas* On the Candragiri Hill at Śravaṇa Beḷgola is also another statue, that of Bharata, brother of Bāhubali, of great size, broken below the knees, yet standing erect

"A statue solid set
And moulded in colossal calm".

In the Jaina cave at Bādāmi a similar figure is seen which, in the opinion of Fergusson, is much older (c 600 A D) than the three great monoliths, but represents the same individual—the ideal ascetic who stood in meditation until the ant-hills arose at his feet and creeping plants grew round his limbs 'This Gomaṭa, Gummaṭa or Dorbali", he also says, "has no prominent place in the Śvetāmbara pantheon, though

119 Cf Fergussion, *A History of Indian and Eastern Architectnre*, II, pp 72-3, Buchanan, *Travels*, III, p 83

120 Cf Sturrock, *South Canara*, I, p 86 f

121 At Nārā in Japan is a bronze statue of Buddha 50 ft high, and at Bāmiyan, a stone image, also of Buddha, 178 ft high See, Carpentier, *Buddhism and Christianity*, p 15, Nariman, *The Indian Daily Mail Annual*, 1926, p. 12. Cf. At Gwalior, Smith, op. cit, pp 268-70.

Pārsvanātha is with them occasionally represented in a similar position "[122]

The question naturally arises as to how these huge images were moved to their present place "The task of carving a rock standing in its place had it even been twice the size, the Hindu mind never would have shrunk from, but to move such a mass up the steep smooth side of the hill seems a labour beyond their power, even with all their skill in concentrating masses of men on a single point," says Fergusson [123] Yet the fact remains that, at least at Kārkala, the statue with its immense proportions was moved up a smooth and steep rock nearly 300 feet high According to tradition, it was raised on to a train of twenty iron carts furnished with steel wheels, on each of which 10,000 propitiatory cocoanuts were broken, and covered with an infinity of cotton, it was then drawn by legions of worshippers up an inclined plane to the platform on the hill-top, where it now stands [124]

Folk-songs of South Kanara also throw some light upon this point, and seem to contain the soul of truth within their legendary exterior They ascribe the erection of all the three statues to the popular devil Kalkuḍa —

'The king of Bêlūr and Beḷgula sent for Kalkuda the stone-mason of Kallatta Mārnād (N E of Mangalore) *He put the thread on his shoulder to let people know his caste,* and held up an umbrella He made sharp his adze and put it on his shoulder. He made sharp his chisel and put it in a bag He made sharp his axe and put it on his shoulder He carried a cord and a pole for measuring. He dressed himself in his dressing-room, and then he dressed himself again "I am going to the kingdom of Beḷgula," he said to his wife. He reached Beḷguḷa where he ascended twelve steps of stone. He passed by the gate He passed by a *painted cāvadi* He passed by a *pillar of precious*

122 Fergusson, op cit., pp 72, 73 n 3; Ep Car II introd, pp 12-13.

123 Fergusson, op cit, pp 72-3

124 Thurston, *The Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, II, pp. 422-23.

stones, and a large yard. There the king sat down on his *throne with pea-cock's feathers* He held up his hands and saluted him "Come Kalkuḍa, take a seat," said the king.

"Why did you send for me?" asked Kalkuḍa "*Now this is evening and the time to take one's food* therefore take five *sers* of rice, and go to your lodging, I shall tell you your work tomorrow morning, and then you must work well," said the king

Next morning the king directed him to do *fine work, such as a basti* (temple), *with* 1,000 *pillars, and with* 120 *images.* Seven temples with seven idols a small temple inside and a garden outside an elephant in the outer yard, *and also a large idol called Gummaḍa* Work such that only one door was opened when a thousand doors were shut, and that the thousand doors were opened when a single door was shut, – *a building for dancing* and *another for dancing-girls*, and also others for lodgings,—an elephant that seemed to be running,—a fine horse and a lion

"*I want to choose my own stones*," said Kalkuḍa

"*Go there to a large rock*, and get the stones you like," said the king

"He went to a large rock called *Perya Kallum and remembered the gods on the four sides* He found the cleft in the stones and put his chisel there, and then he applied his axe The stone was separated, *just like flesh from the blood* He then did fine work, and built the *basti* of a thousand pillars, etc [125]

Then the song proceeds,—"*It is a year and six months since I came* I must go to my native country. Therefore, I beg leave," said Kalkuḍa

The king presented him with a cot to lie down on, a chair to sit on, five torches for light, a stick to walk with, clothes up to the shoulders, and betel leaves to fill his mouth . ...

Then Kalkuḍa's son, seeing his own father's work said "*All the work is done well, except the image of a frog which is not*

125 Burnell, The Devil Worship of the Tuḷuvas Ind. Ant XXV, MS. 25.

done well Its eyes are not done well Its paws are not well done Its legs are not properly done "

"*Rāma, Rāma, Bērmēttı!*", exclaimed Kalkuḍa, "*Many have seen and examined my work, many have been satisfied with it* You were born but yesterday, and are only just grown up, *still you have found out a mistake in my work If the king heard of this, he would tie me to an elephant's leg and beat me with horse-whips He would dishonour me, and then what would be the use of my life?*" So saying, Kalkuda *put down his tools* and *took out a knife from his girdle* and *cut his own throat* Thus did he kill himself

"*Father, although you are dead, I will not leave your tools,*" said the son. . *And he worked at Belgola better than his father had done* He built the seven temples, he established a *Brahma*[126] (?), etc.

* * *

Bairana-sūda (Bairāsu Wodeya ?), *King of Kārkaḷa, heard the news, sent for him, and told him to work in his kingdom He made a basti with a thousand pillars,* 120 *images, a dancing room, a lodging for dancing girls, etc*

"Go to a rock on dry land and make *Gummatasāmı* there," said the king *He made the Gommatasāmı* He made a pillar called *Bantakamba*, a pillar of *Mahārnavamı*. He made a garden inside the temple

"You people, bring fifty cocoanuts in a basket, and betel-nut on a fan, *call together the* 5,000 *people of Kārkaḷa, and raise the Gommatasāmı, he said But they could not do it*"

"*Very well,*" *said Kalkuda* (the younger), *and he put the left hand under the Gummata and raised it, and placed it on a base, and then he set the Gummata up-right*"

126 This is evidently a reference to the Brahma-deva Pillar, or Mānastambha on the Candragiri Hill which is a beautiful work of art, *Cf* Ep Car II Introd, p 24.

This interesting legend makes it clear that the Jainas employed Brāhmanical architects and sculptors as well In the sequel we are told that the King of Kārkaḷa said, "*I will not let Kalkuḍa who has worked in my kingdom, work in another country*," and he cut off his left arm and right leg In spite of this, however, Kalkuda went to Timmajila,[127] King of Yêṇūr, and *did fine work with only one arm and one leg* His sister, *Kallurti* (another devil worshipped in South Kanara), is said to have taken full revenge for the ill-treatment of her brother to which the fall of the Kārkala Wodeyars is attributed,[128] The legend also amply illustrates the life of a sculptor, his skill, his sense of honour, his hereditary attachment to his vocation, his small remuneration, as well as his hardships which often disabled him for life, though his indefatigable enthusiasm for his task was more than could be curbed by such calamities But in spite of all this, we cannot fail to notice *that* lack of versatility in expression, which resulted in repeating the same acts and same forms over and over again–at Beḷguḷa, at Kārkala, and also at Vêṇūr,—almost like a machine turning out stereotyped blocks "Numberless images might be figured," says Smith, "without adding anything to the reader's knowledge of Indian art They differ from one another merely in the degree of perfection attained in mechanical execution "[129] There is in the Madras Museum, a Jaina image on the base of which are written the words that King Sālva Deva, 'a great lover of *Sāhitya* (literature)' 'made (the image) *according to rule* '[130] There are innumerable such images made of metal, stone, or even gems The Jainas, as Walhouse has remarked, delighted in making their images of all substances and sizes, but almost

127 Evidently, Timmarāja who erected the Yênūr colossus He must, therefore, have belonged to the Ajila or *Ajalar* family See, Sturrock, op cit, p 55

128 Burnell, op cit, p 224

129 Smith, op cit, p 268

130 Rangāchārya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, II, 325,

always, invariable in attitude, whether that be seated or standing. Most of the images belong to the Digambara sect or school, are nude Small portable images of the saint are made of crystal, alabaster, soapstone, blood-stone, and various other materials, while the larger are carved from whatever kind of stone is locally available He also mentions a life-size brass image of Śāntiswara at Yênūr, erect and enshrined in burnished silver and brass-work variegated with red ornaments [131] Each Tīrthankara is distinguished from another by his colour, his *chinna* and *lānchhana*, and the *Yaksas* and *Yaksinis* who attend on him, the Śvetāmbara images differ from the Digambara particularly in the nudity and absolute lack of ornament in the latter [132] But, in the words of Mr Nānālāl C Metha, "Somehow or other the aesthetic element was over-shadowed by other considerations, and size rather than strength in sculpture, elaboration of detail more than the beauty of form or out-line in building, and narration more than accomplished expression in pictures, become the dominant qualities of Indian art as developed under the austere influence of Jainism " [133]

Another peculiar contribution of the Jainas, not only to Karnātaka but also to the whole of Indian or even Eastern art, is the free-standing pillar, found in front of almost every basti or Jaina temple in Karnātaka " In the whole range of Indian art, " observes Smith, "there is nothing, perhaps, equal to these Kanara pillars for good taste A particularly elegant example, 52½ ft in height, faces a Jain temple at Mudbidrê. The material is granite, and the design is of singular grace (c 11th or 12th cent A D) " [134] There are about twenty such pillars in the District of South Kanara alone, which made many other distinctive contributions to Jaina art, as we shall notice in the course of this chapter There are two kinds of such pillars in

131 Walhouse cited by Smith, op cit , pp 238, 268

132 Burges, *Digambara Jain Iconography* Ind Ant XXXII p 459 f,

133 Metha, *Studies in Indian Painting*, p 22.

134 Smith, op cit., p 22,

Karnāṭaka namely, the *Brahma-deva-stambhas* and the *Māna-stambhas*. The former bear figures of the Brāhmanical god Brahma, the latter are taller and have a small pavilion at the capital [135] We have already referred to the Tyāgada *Brahma-deva-pillar* at Candragiri which is considered 'a beautiful work of art.' The fine *Māna-stambha* in front of the Pārśvanātha Basti at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa is distinguished by a *śikhara* over the cell which is always surmounted by a small dome, "as is universally the case with every *vimāna* in Dravidian architecture, instead of with the *āmalaka* ornament of the Northern *śikharas*" [136]

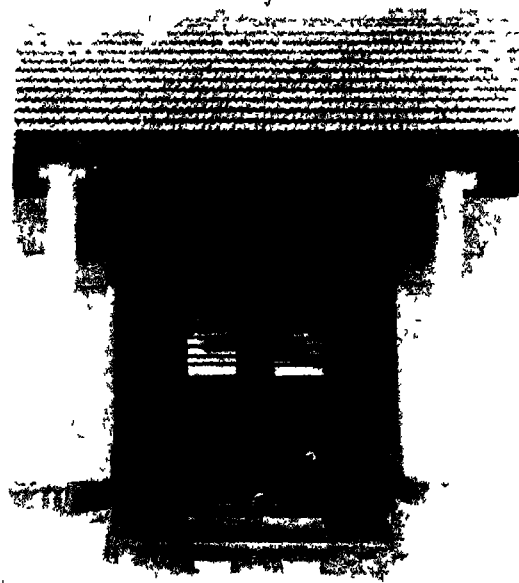
These *stambhas* or detached pillars are quite different from *dīpa-stambhas* or lamp posts of Hindu temples, and in the opinion of Fergusson, "are the lineal descendents" of the Buddhist ones which bore either emblems or statues—generally the former—or figures of animals "Pillars are found of all ages in India," he says, "from Aśoka pillars down to the Jainas. They might be compared to the Egyptian obelisks but when we look at the vast difference between their designs, it becomes evident that vast ages must have elapsed before the plain straight-lined forms of the obelisks could have changed into the complicated and airy forms of the Jaina *stambhas*" [137] According to Mr Walhouse the whole capital and canopy (of Jaina pillars) are a wonder of light, elegant, lightly decorated stone work, and nothing can surpass the stately grace of these beautiful pillars, whose proportions and adaptations to surrounding scenery are always perfect, and whose richness of decoration never offends [138]

Apart from these pieces of individual statuary or architectural work, the Jainas distinguished themselves by their decorative

135 Ep Ind VIII, p 123 The Jainas, of course, regard this *Brahma* not as identical with the Hindu god, but as a *kṣetrapāl* or *yakṣa* attending on the Arhat

136 Fergusson, op cit, p 75

137 Ibid, pp 81-83

138 Walhouse, Ind. Ant V, p 39

Main entrance to Tribhuvana Tilaka Jinalaya *(Vide page 110)*

sculpture, and attained a considerable degree of excellence in the perfection of their pillared chambers which were their favourite form of architecture. These took various shapes and gave full play to a variety of designs, differing according to the locality, the nature of the climate or the substance available out of which to execute their artistic ideals Dr Coomaraswāmy, however, finds fault with Fergusson for his "sectarian classification" which he says "is quite misleading", "for, just as in the case of sculpture, there are no Buddhist, Jaina or Brāhmanical styles of architecture, but only Buddhist, Jaina and Brāhmanical buildings *in the Indian style of the period*" [139] Without entangling ourselves in this controversial question, we might accept the geographical classification of Dr Coomaraswāmy as an "adequate" (though not "the only") classification, for our purposes "The three most clearly differentiated types are", according to him, "the *Northern*, marked by the curvilinear *sikhara*, the *Southern*, with a terraced pyramidal tower, of which only the dome is called the *śikhara*, and the *Central*, combining both types with peculiarities of its own" These three types are thus designated in the *Śilpa-śāstras*

A *Nāgara*—mainly, North of the Vindhyas

B *Vêsara*—Western India, the Deccan and Mysore

C *Drāvida*—Madras Presidency and North Ceylon [140]

It is to be understood that these are the most predominant characteristics of each area, but not the monopoly of any particular zone We have already noticed, for instance, in a Ratta inscription of Saundatti, that King Rājā caused to be erected at Kalpolê, a temple of Jina, wonderful to behold, the diadem of the earth, ***having three pinnacles*** (*śikharas*) unequalled, so that Brahma, Viṣnu, and Śiva were charmed with it, he also built a place of retreat for the high-minded devotees of the god Śāntinātha (Jina) ***adorned with golden pinnacles*** and arched

139 Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pp 106-7.
140 Cf. Ibid., pp.106-7.

portals, fashioned like a sea-monster, and pillars of honour etc.[141]

A more pecular type of Jaina temples is found in South Kanara, below the *ghāts*, on the West Coast Apart from the *Betta* or shrines consisting of an open courtyard, surrounded with cloisters round about the colossi, are the temples of Mūdbidrê, belonging mostly to the time of Vijayanagara Kings, with their sloping roofs of flat overlapping slabs, and a peculiar type of stone-screen enclosing the sides, recalling a Buddhist railing—resemble Himālayan structures, rather than anything else more familiar in India [142] The influence of this style is seen not merely in South Kanara, but also, further South along the coast Mr Logan observes, "The Jains seem to have left behind them one of their peculiar styles of temple architecture, for the Hindu temples, and even the Muhammedan mosques of Malabar are all built in the style peculiar to the Jains, as it is still to be seen in the Jain bastis at Mūdbidrê and other places in the South Kanara district." How the Muhammedans came to adopt this style for their mosques, he explains by stating that some of the original nine mosques were built on the sites of temples (or bastis) and perhaps the original buildings were retained or they set the model to later mosques [143]

Of the various styles we can only choose a few typical instances, and dwell more on the peculiarities of Jaina art as a whole

The *bastis* on the Candragiri Hill (Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa) are fifteen in number They are all of the Dravidian style of

141 Fleet, Ratta Inscriptions, JBBRAS X, p 235

142 Cf Coomaraswamy, op cit, pp 118-19, Fergusson, op cit, p 75 f This resemblance with Nepalese or Himālayan architecture is generally explained by saying that 'Similar conditions produced similar structures" But those who say this forget or are unaware of the existence of a number of Nepalese *jogis* at Kadri (Mangalore) from unknown times, in the vicinity of whose *Matha* are a number of tombs said to be those of Gorakh-Nath and his followers from the Himālayas If this fact does not wholly explain, it certainly lends support to the hypothesis af actual Northern influence

143 Logan, *Malabar*, pp 186-88, cf Fergusson, op cit, pp 7, 68-9.

Peculiar type of Jaina architecture in S Kanara

Tribhuvanatilaka Jinalaya at Mudbidre *(Vide page 112)*

Pillar-carving of Baira-devi Mandapa, Mudbidre (*Vide page 113*)

architecture and are consequently built in gradually receding storeys, each of which is ornamented with small simulated cells. No curvilinear *śikhara,* such as is universal with the Northern Jainas, occurs among them, and their general external appearance is more ornamental than that of the generality of Northern Jaina temples [144] Quite in contrast with these are the *bastis* of Mūḍbidrē.

The external plainness of the Jaina temples of South Kanara gives no clue to the character of their interiors In the words of Fergusson, "Nothing can exceed the richness or the variety with which they are carved No two pillars are alike, and many are ornamented to an extent that may almost seem fantastic Their massiveness and richness of carving bear evidence to their being copies of wooden models "[145]

This last observation is fully confirmed by an inscription in Coorg, above the Ghāts, which definitely speaks of a *basadi* made of wood to serve as a model for another to be later on constructed in *stone* Its estimated cost was 330 *honnu* [146] The wooden model must easily have been dispensed with in cases of material which was as tractable as wood For instance, at Bārkūr, Buchanan observed a *basti,* built by the Wodeyars, about which he remarks, "The workmanship of the pillars and carving is superior to anything that I have seen in India, *probably owing to the nature of the stone, which cuts better than the granite in common use, and preserves its angles better than the common pot-stone, of which many temples are constructed*" [147] The variety of material used for temple building, naturally varied with the locality There is a Jaina temple in Belgaum with pillars of black Belgaum porphyry which is said to take a high polish and is strongly magnetic [148] At Ellôra, in one of

144 Cf Fergusson, op cit I, p 172, ibid II, p. 74

145 Ibid, pp 78 9, Sturrock, op, cit, p 85

146 Cf Rice, Coorg Inscriptions, Ep Car I, 10, p. 56

147 Buchanan, op cit., III, pp 132-33.

148 *Cf.* Belgaum, Bom. Gaz XXI, p 540.

the Jaina caves, a shrine has two round pillars of polished red stone which give a hollow metallic sound when tapped with the fingers

The plans of these bastis are everywhere the same, with but slight variations according to size They begin with spacious, well lighted, porches or *mandapas*—of which there are three in larger temples, (known respectively as *Tīrthankara,—Gaddigê—* and *Citra mantapas*), and two in smaller ones (called *Tīrthankara*, and *Namaskāra-mandapas*)—leading to a cell in which the images of one or more Tīrthankaras are placed [149] A special type of the smaller shrines, common in Mysore, is what is called the *Trikutāc al* with three *garbhagrhas*, three *sukhanasis*, and a *Navarangi* or porch Shrines of this type are taken as good specimens of the Hoysala style, two examples of which are the Jaina *basti* at Mārkuli (a small village 3 miles east of Ambuga on the Mysore-Arsīkêre railway-line) and the Śāntinātha temple of Jinanātha-pura (a mile north of Śravana Belgola) The latter is said to be the most ornate temple in the whole of the Mysore State [150]

Another variety of the smaller temple is that found at Guruvayyanakere in South Kanara It is a five-pillared shrine, in front of the larger temple to which it belongs Fergusson has observed that four pillared shrines are not uncommon in the Southern temples, but five pillars is peculiar,—and also having access to the upper chambers (which in this case are three in number) [151] The Mêguti temple at Aiholé, in the Bijāpur District, is also said to be *"somewhat peculiar,"* the shrine being surrounded by eight small rooms (8 ft wide) in place of a *pradaksina* passage.[152] But by far the best model of a Jaina temple is that of *Caturmukhabasti* or the four-faced temple, found at Kārkaḷa and

149 Fergusson, op cit, p 79, *cf.* Madras Ep Rep 1916-17, pp 113-14

150 Mysore Archaeological Report 1925, p 1, Ep Car. II Introd, pp 32 33.

151 Fergusson, op, cit, p. 79.

152 Ibid I, p 356, *cf.* Havell, *Ancient and Mediaeval Architecture of India*, p. 68.

Gersoppa, a plan of the latter is given on the opposite page The following description of the former by Walhouse is also worth reproduction —

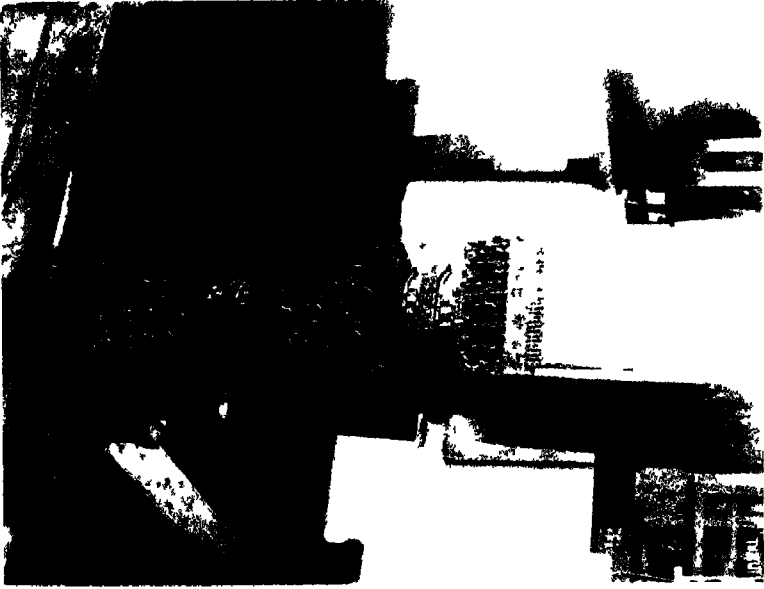
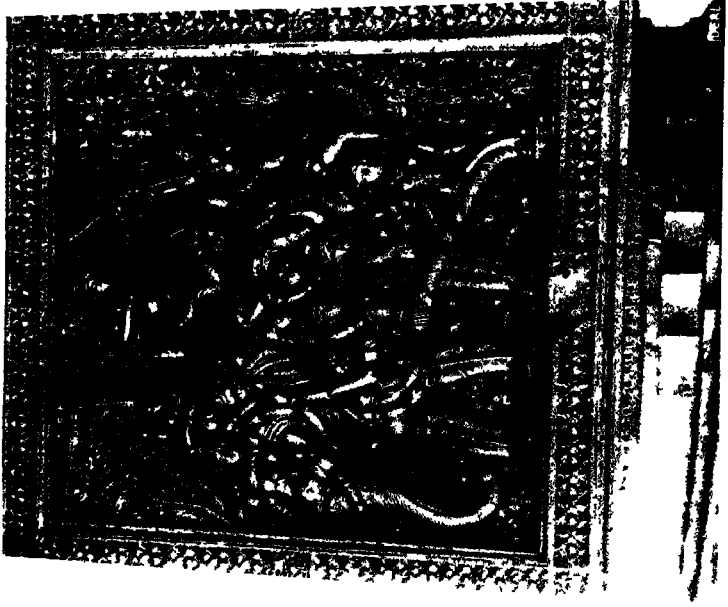
'On a broad rocky platform below the hill on the side next the town stands a remarkable Jain temple, much differing from the ordinary Hindu style, square with a projecting columned portico facing each of the four quarters The columns, quadrangular for a third part of their height, pass into rounded sections, separated by cable bands, and have the sides and sections richly decorated with deities, and most graceful and intricate arabesque designs, rosettes and stars, leaf and scroll work, in endless combination, all made out of the carver's brain, wrought almost as finely as Chinese ivory work. The friezes and pediments round the porticoes and temples are ornamented in like manner, and frequently a stone in the wall displays some quaint wonderfully well-cut device, a hundred-petalled flower disc, two serpents inextricably intertwined, or a grotesque head surrounded with fruitage The temple is roofed with immense overlapping flag-stones, and bore some sort of cupola now ruined in the centre On the massive folding doors of one of the portals being rolled back, a strange sight is disclosed In a large square recess, immediately facing the entrance stand three life-sized images of burnished copper, the counterparts of the great statue on the hill above, each resembling each, and looking weird and unearthly in the gloom of the adytum as the light through the opening doors falls upon them A like triad stands within each of the other three entrances' [153]

Details of the interiors of other Jaina temples also reveal an almost confusing variety of figures, decorations, and symbols. To give but one illustration, in the Mārkuli temple, already referred to, the main image of *Ādiśvara* is seated in *Yôgamudra*, palm on palm, and crossed legs in the front Behind him is a *prabhāvali* built against the wall On either side are standing figures of Bāhubali and Pārśvanātha with a serpent of five hoods

153 *Cf* Sturrock, op cit., p 90

over the head of the latter, *Bāhubali is flanked by two small* figures, one with six hands, and another only with two Of the six hands of the former, three hold respectively an *ankuśa*, a *kalaśa*, and a trident, the rest hold fruit Another seated male figure has four hands holding an *ankuśa*, *aksamālā*, and fruit in the three, with the fourth hand in *Varada-hasta* pose There is also a female figure with twelve hands four on the right and four on the left, holding each a *cakra* or disc, two with a thunderbolt, and the remaining, with a lotus and *varada-hasta*. On the ceiling are lotuses and other flowers [154]

Often on the pillars of Jaina temples are curious figures, like that of the giraffe, or the interlaced basket-work, of which Fergusson finds parallels in Irish manuscripts and crosses, as well as, in America, and the valley of the Danube in Europe [155] The number of pillars also is sometimes far in excess of mere architectural needs, as in the case af the 'Thousand Pillar Basti' of Mūdbidrê 'It is very extensive, magnificient, containing on and about a thousand pillars and no two alike In the prophylaeum are of several great size, the lower halves square, the upper round and lessening, recalling Egyptian forms, and all covered with a wondrous wealth of sculptured gods, monsters, leaf and flower-work, and astonishing arabesque interlacement, cut with admirable cleanness One quadrangular face bears a hymn, graven curiously in twenty-five small compartments, each containing four compound words, which may be read as verses in all directions, up or down, along or across On the outer pediment there is a long procession of various animals, living and mythical, among them the centaur and mermaid and an excellent representation of a giraffe [156] The two specimens of wood-carving, reproduced elsewhere, *viz* the *Pancanāri-turaga* and *Navanāri-kuñjara*, are also from Mūḍbidrê and belong to the Couter's palace there

154 Cf Mysore Archaeological Report, 1925, p 2
155 Cf Fergusson, op cit, p 82
156 Walhouse, quoted by sturrock, op cit, p 88.

Pancanari-Turaga   Wood-carving -- Mudbidre *(Vide page 116)*

Navanari Kunjara Wood-carving -- Mudbidre (*Vide page 117*)

To these illustrations from Mysore and the West Coast, we might add another from the Deccan to show that the love of profusion and variety was essentially the same, whether in the North or South, differing only in the details of expression The temple of Belgaum with its pillars of magnetic black porhyry has already been referred to Its sculptures are no less interesting. The brackets of the pillars are ornamented with heads of cobras In each of the eight architraves, which support the dome of the temple, are carved five small cells or *mandirs*, each containing a sitting Jina, and, between the cells are four attendants or supporters—standing figures each under a small canopy On one carved slab is *a figure on horse-back with a high cap*, a canopy or umbrella over his head, and a woman behind him Another is a fancy alligator or *makara*, a large-headed gaping and similarly mounted short-legged dragon In the centre of the dome is a beautiful pendentive boldly designed and well executed, but damaged at one point The door leading from the hall to the inner temple has been very gracefully carved On the centre of the lintel is a sitting Jina and above the cornice are four sitting men On the neat side-pillar colonettes are five bands with human groups in some of which the figures though little more than an inch high are in strong relief Inside the bands of human figures is a band of rampant lions, their necks adorned with high frills Outside the colonettes is a band of holy swans, another of lions, and a third of human figures, mostly on bended knees. The pillars of the inner temple or *śālā* are square and massive, relieved by having all the chief fronts, the triangles on the base and neck, carved with flowers. A richly carved door leads to the small ante-chamber in front of the shrine On the under-side of the door cornice is carved a dancing figure between two musicians [157]

It will be at once noticed that the austere asceticism which symbolised itself in the huge stoic and naked monoliths was also counter-balanced, if not more than counter-balanced by the

157 Belgaum, Bom Gaz XXI, pp 540-41

abundance and variety of these sculptures which, in a sense, give expression to the later and emotionalised Jainism that we shall comment upon in a later chapter There are not a few traces of the early tree and serpent worship of the Dravidians in Jaina sculptures, and the five, seven, or thousand headed *nāga* is everywhere present in the Jaina temples It is in fact, as Fergusson observes, the *nāga* that binds together and gives unity to the various religions of South India, and snake images are very frequent about Jaina temples, particularly in Mysore and Kanara [158] In the Caturmukha Basti at Gersoppa, there is, among the various Digambara figures huddled together, one of Pārśvanātha with a beautifully carved *śēsa-phanā*, as also in the exquisite seated marble figure still worshipped at Śravana Belgola Hindu or Brāhmanical influence is also traceable in the sculptures of Indra or Śakra, Garuda, Saraswati, Laxmi, etc ,[159] striking examples of which are found in the figure of Laxmi bathed by two elephants at the entrance of the great enclosure round the Gummata at Belgola, and in the huge seated figure of Indra which has given the name of Indra Sabhā to one of the most interesting caves at Ellôrā This naturally leads us to a consideration of Jaina excavations in Karnātaka, which are perhaps more numerous in the Bombay division than anywhere else in the peninsula

"The varying practical requirements of the cult of each religion, of course, had an effect on the nature of the buildings required for particular purposes," observes Smith, ,[160] and the striking paucity of Jaina caves, as compared with either Buddhist or Brāhmanical ones, is a strong commentary upon those who adversely reflect upon the ascetic nature of the Jaina religion The importance attached to the lay community, as well as, the active part played in worldly life by the Jaina

158 *Cf* Fergusson, op cit, I, pp 42–44 and 44 n 1, ibid II, p 79

159 Ibid, pp 4-5, Cf Buhler, *Indian Sect of the Jainas*, App by Burgess, *Jaina Mythology*, p 61 f

160 Smith, op, cit, p 9

monks, must largely account for the fact that although, like the Buddhists, the Jainas had a monastic organisation "it never attained power like that of the Buddhist order"[161] As Burgess has pointed out, the Jaina caves in Western India do not exceed 4 per cent of the whole The figures given by him are Buddhist 720, Brāhmanical 160, and Jaina only 35 The earliest of these belong to the 5th or 6th Century A D, and the latest perhaps to the 12th century A D They are all Digambara, and include one or two very fine specimens Like the Brāhmanical caves they are also built after the plan of the Buddhist *vihāras*, probably "as a means of dressing their candidature for a larger share of popular favour"[162] *Chotā Kailās* or smaller Kailās, at Ellôrā, is a curious example of the imitation of the works of one sect by the votaries of another "For there can be no doubt," says Burgess, "this was undertaken in imitation of the great Brāhmanical temple of Kailāsa, but on a much smaller scale" He also adds, "these two temples cannot be far distant in date" (9th cent A D,)[163]

By far the most interesting caves of the Jainas in this part of the country are, of course, the groups called the Indra Sabhā and Jagannātha Sabhā They constitute a maze of excavations leading from one into another, and Havell observes, "The name of the two temples, and the orientation of their shrines indicate that, unlike most of the other shrines at Ellorā, it was not the *tāmasic* aspect of the *Trimūrti* that was here invoked, but the blessings of the Rain God, represented by Visnu, the preserver, and his *s'akti*, Laxmi, the bringer of prosperity Only as the temples belonged to the Jaina sect they appealed specially to their saints, the Tīrthankaras, to whom analogous divine powers were attributed With this qualification of the symbolism of the structure and ornament has the same

161 *Cf* Ibid, p 11
162 Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, pp. 170-71.
163 Ibid, pp 495-96,

significance as in Brāhmanical and Buddhist temples "[164]

The entrance to the Indra Sabhā is completely sculptured out of a living rock, like the Kailās temple which it resembles in many respects, though on a considerably smaller scale Immediately within the walls is the Jaina equivalent of Śiva's Nandi-shrine. The cubical cell is of the Brahma type, and stands for the four-headed Brahma symbol, as seen at Elephanta, though the four sides are sculptured with the figure of Mahāvīra The main block of Indra Sabhā consists of a two-storeyed temple, cut into the rock for a depth of over 100 ft " Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the sculpture of the Indra Sabhā ", observes Havell, " is the strikingly beautiful and original façade of the side-chapel on the western side of the main temple, the richness of which contrasts so admirably with the larger surfaces of the grand *chhaja* shading the main front and the magnificent profile of the elephants kneeling above it "[165]

The figure of Indra himself is sculptured on the left of the main temple, seated on a sleeping elephant as represented in the photograph facing this page Similarly seated under a tree, carved with infinite care and accuracy with birds, fruits and leaves brought into remarkable relief, is Indrāni in the opposite corner facing her Lord This goddess, unlike Indra, is seated on a crouching lion whose head is completely damaged She is not the only goddess in the group. There is also a four-armed Devi with two discs in the upper hands, and a *vajra* in her left, resting on her knee. To her left is another goddess with eight arms seated on a pea-cock, evidently Saraswati Some of the remarkable things to note are the dogs and deer at the foot of Mahāvīra's throne in the Jagannātha group There are numerous other figures common to other Jaina temples, but the magnificent pillar-carving, with nude, standing Digambaras on

164 Havell, op cit, p 201 The Brāhmanical caves predominate at Ellôrā; they are 17, whereas Buddhist ones are 12, and Jaina only five. All are situated within the radius of a mile

165 Cf. Plate LXXI, Havell, op cit, p 202.

Indra seated on Elephant

Indra Sabha, Ellora *(Vide page 120)*

Carved Pillar in Jaina Cave - Ellora *(Vide page 121)*

their inner face, is particularly note-worthy. (see photograph opposite.)

Yet Ellôrā forms one of a group, there are others, more ancient, further South. "When Buddhism was tottering to a fall", observes Burgess, "the Jainas timidly at first in Dhārwār and the Dekkan, and boldly afterwards at Elūrā—asserted themselves as co-heirs to the Buddhists, with the Brāhmans"[166] The caves at Ellôrā being thus of later date, are supposed to represent a decadent age in Jaina sculpture The rock-cut style was only a passing episode in their architectural history and was dropped by the Jainas when it was no longer wanted It has had no permanent effect upon their own peculiar style. "Notwithstanding this, however, the architects who excavated the two Sabhās at Elūrā," says Burgess, "deserve a prominent place among those, who, regardless of all utilitarian considerations, sought to convert the living rock into quasi-eternal temples in honour of their gods"[167] There are similar excavations in the Deccan at Bādāmi, Aiholê, Dhārāśiva, Ankai, Pātan, Nāsik and Junāgad, as well as in the far South at Kulumulu or Kulugumalai in the Tinnavelly District The caves at Dhārāśiva (Osmānābād 37 miles N of Sholāpur) are perhaps the largest of these The halls here are of considerable size, being 80 ft deep and 79–85 ft across, with eight cells in each of the side walls and six in the back, besides the shrine In one is an image of Pārśvanātha with a seven-hooded serpent above him, seated on a throne, in *jñāna-mudrā* Hanging from the east is a carved representation of rich drapery In front of it was a wheel set edge-wise, with antelopes at each side There are *śārdūlas* and other non-descript monsters as well[168] That at Aiholé is two-storeyed with a number of halls attached, as at Ellôrā From their appearance, as well as the presence of the

166 Burgess, op cit, p 510

167 Ibid, pp 511–12, *cf* his *Report on the Cave Temples in Western India*, p 44 f

168 Ibid, pp 503–04, Fergusson, op cit, pp 18–19

peculiarly Southern Gummaṭa (as at Bādāmi) Fergusson concludes that the excavator must have brought the Dravidian style with them into the Deccan He says, the Ellōrā group (i e the Deccan group) exhibits an extra-ordinary affinity with the southern style They must have all been excavated by the Cālukyas and the Rāshtrakūtas (7th to the 8th cent A D) whose kingdoms extended from the Tungabhadra and Kṛsna, in the South, to Ellōrā and Mālkhed in the North[169] The Bādāmi cave contains names of Digambara sādhus, and the figures are marked by the sacred-thread, seen also in the status of Indra at Ellōrā, on either side of the statue of Mahāvīra are chauri-bearers, śārdulas, makaras, etc[170] The caves of Nāsik have cells and halls for the monks, and those at Yeola, in the same District, have small but richly carved doorways[171] Among the smaller caves of interest might be mentioned those of Ankai, in the Khāndêsh District They are seven in all, and belong to about the 11th or 12th cent A D They are rich in sculpture, notable samples of which are the female dancing figures on petals bearing musical instruments[172] That of Kulugumalai, in the Tinnevelly District, is a rock-cut temple which deserves mention also not for its size but for its elegance of details The temple now used by the Śaivas is described as "a gem of its class" It too belongs to about the same period as the caves of Ankai[173] These excavations are not copies of structural buildings but are "rock-cut examples, which had grown up into a style of their own, distinct from that of structural edifices"[174]

Jaina art is to an overwhelming degree religious, and hence we find in it a certain lack of the purely aesthetic element

169 Ibid, pp 20-22
170 Burgess, *A S of W I, Belgaum and Kalādgi Dists* (1874), pp 25-6, Cave Temples, p 491
171 Burgess and Cousens, *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, VIII, pp 46 9, 52
172 Fergusson, op cit, pp 18-19, Burgess, *Cave Temples* pp 505-07
173 Fergusson, op cit, p 22, Burgess, op cit, p 159
174 Fergusson, op cit, p 7

conducive to its own growth Even religion is emotional, and in the conventional Jaina art the ethical object predominates The dominance of this ideal is indicated by sculptures representing scenes from the lives of their saints, rather than heroes in any other walk of life For instance, in the Candragupta Basti at Śravaṇa Belgola, the façade is made of a perforated stone screen containing as many as ninety sculptured scenes of events in the lives of Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta [175]

This also finds illustration in the pictorial art of painting On the walls of the Jaina Matha at Belgola are several examples of how the chief tenets of their religion were sought to be inculcated by means of this art In one of the panels (North) Pārśvanātha is represented in his *samavasarana* or heavenly pavilion where the Kevalin or Jina preaches eternal wisdom to the *śrāvakas* A tree with six persons on it illustrates the six *lêśyas* of Jaina philosophy by which the soul gets tinted with merit and demerit Neminātha is also similarly represented in the act of expounding religious doctrine The only secular scene that finds a place there is that of Krsnarāja Odeya III during his *Dasarā-darbār* (on the right panel of the middle cell) [176] But even such paintings are very rare in Karnātaka There is nothing in what has survived of Jaina art in Karnāṭaka comparable with the immaculate Buddhist frescoes of Ajantā A few traces of old paintings are still to be seen on the ceilings of the Ellorā caves There are also some at Kāncipuram and Tirumalai in the South [177] Dubreuil has drawn attention to others at Sittanavasal in Pudukottai State, near Tanjore, assigned to about the 7th cent A D [178] These paintings are in a Jaina rock-cut temple, akin in their style to Ajanta, but less forceful and impressive [179] More interesting, perhaps, are

175 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p 5 cf Smith, op cit, p. 270
176 Cf Ep Car II Introd, pp 30 31
177 Coomāraswāmy, op cit, pp 118 19, cf Ibid III Pl LXXX, 256
178 Dubreuil, *Pallava Painting*, p 3, Coomāraswāmy, op cit, p 89
179 Cf Ajit Ghose, *A Comparative Survey of Indian Painting*, I H Q II 2, p 303

those of Tirumalai (N. Arcot) Smith says, the Jaina holy place at Tirumalai is "remarkable as possessing the remains of a set of wall and ceiling paintings ascribed, on the evidence of inscriptions, to the 11th cent A D. (E I ix, 229)".[180] Traces exist of still older paintings covered up by the existing works But, with the exception of one, they are said to be purely conventional and of little artistic importance That exception is a representation of twelve Jaina nuns who are white-robed But they are not to be supposed that they are Svetāmbara, for we have seen that such an order of Digambara sisterhood still exists in the Arcot District of whose antiquity, therefore, this is a valuable confirmation [181]

Apart from this mural painting, there was another kind of Jaina art which was particularly prevalent in Gujarāt, viz the art of illustrating, with beautifnl pictures, manuscripts of not less artistic interest than they were of religious importance Dr Coomāraswāmy has observed that Mediaeval Indian art has nothing finer to show than these Jaina paintings only the early Rājput pictures of *rāgas* and *rāginis* are of equal aesthetic rank [182] A brief allusion to these therefore would not be a digression, especially as the 'subjects' dealt with are persons of vital interest to our history

"The tradition of Jain painting," says Coomāraswāmy, "is recovered in manuscripts of the thirteenth and subsequent centuries The text most frequently illustrated is the *Kalpa Sūtra* of Bhadrabāhu, containing the lives of the Jinas, most of the space being devoted to Mahāvīra There are also illustrated cosmologies and cosmological diagrams, and appended to the *Kalpa Sūtra* there is usually to be found the edifying tale of Kālikācārya The pictures take the form of square panels of the full height of the page, occupying spaces left for the purpose only in very rare cases is the whole page used The

180 Smith, op cit., p 344

181 Cf Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, II, pp 432 33.

182 Coomāraswāmy, *Introduction to Indian Art*, p 117.

proper subject to be represented is often indicated by a marginal legend, sometimes by a diagrammatic marginal sketch, the former doubtless due to the scribe, the latter to the artist taking note of his instructions The same subjects are repeated in the various manuscripts almost without variation it is very evident that both in composition and style the pictures belong to an ancient and faithfully preserved tradition "[183]

There is similarly an illustrated manuscript of *Bhaktāmara-Stôtra*, in the Ailak Panālāl Digambara Jaina Saraswati Bhavana (Bombay), which, however, being on paper, unlike the palm-leaf described by Coomāraswāmy, has full-page coloured paintings of unique artistic value It is a pity that it is so damaged and worn out that at the slightest touch the paper crumbles to dust Not the least interesting figure in it (out of nearly forty) is that of a four-headed Digambara Brahma, standing on a lotus-stool with the Bull of Ādinātha below There is a triple umbrella over his heads, the whole profile being surrounded with a halo of light On the right is a naked *sādhu* standing on a wooden seat and on the left a crowned royal figure On the inner surface of the back cover-leaf are carelessly scribbled the words 'संवत् १८५१ वर्षे फाल्गुणावदि १३ दिन खरतरगच्छ वास्तव्य श्री दयासागरजी अमीचंदजी लिखेसे ।' (Sam 1851, *Phālgun* 13) But the contrast of this with the artistic script of the text, as well as, the present condition of the manuscript make it clear that it must be much earlier Other manuscripts on palm-leaves, like *Pampa Bhārata* in Kannada script, are not wanting in this treasure-house of Jaina manuscripts One more example of book-illustration, is that from an illumined manuscript of Nemicandra's *Trilôkasāra*, where the great teacher is represented as expounding the docrtines of his religion, and among the auditorium is said to be Cāmundarāya, *his famous disciple who caused the Belgoḷa colossus to be erected*[184]

183 Ibid, pp 114–15

184 For a facsimile of this illustration see, *Dravyasamgraha*, S B J I, Introd p, xxxix (facing)

From this we must now turn to yet another form of Jaina art, namely, that of inscribing on rock or copper-plate, some of which is of not less artistic interest than it is of historical value. The Kudlūr plates of Mārasimha Ganga, for example, are both literature, art, and history, rolled in one Particularly noteworthy in it is the seal which is beautifully executed It is divided transversely into two unequal compartments, the upper enclosing about three-fourths of the space, and the lower about one-fourth The upper division has in the middle a fine elephant in relief, standing to the proper right, surmounted by a parasol flanked by *courts*, with the sun and the crescent at the upper corners Behind the elephant is a lamp-stand with what looks like a *court* above it, and in front is a vase surmounted by a dagger, and another lamp stand The lower compartment bears in one horizontal line the legend 'Śrī Mārasingha-Dêvam, in Halê-kannada characters [185] The official designation of the engravers is often given as *Viśwakarma*, and not infrequently we have reference to "the ornament to the forehead of titled sculptors"[186] The banners of Jaina kings are also not without interest Those of Ganga Pêrmādi and Hastimalla, indicate the stamp and symbol of Jainism, *viz* the *Pincha-dhwaja* (Flag of pea-cock feathers) described as "the banner of the divine Arhat"[187]

Finally, we cannot conclude this chapter better than by pointing to the taste of the Jainas in always selecting the best views for their temples and caves At Ellôrā they came perhaps too late, when the best sites had been already appropriated by the Buddhists and the Hindus, but speaking of the Jaina ruins at Hampi, Longhurst observes, 'unlike the Hindus, the Jainas almost invariably selected a picturesque site for their temples, valuing rightly the effect of environment on architecture' [188] The hill originally occupied by them, south of the

185 Mysore Archeological Report, 1921, p 18
186 Rice, Coorg Inscriptions, Ep Car I, p 7, Ep Car II Introd, p. 52
187 Hultzsch, Ep Ind III, p 165, Ind Ant XVIII, p 313
188 Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, p 99

Chandragiri and Dhavala - Sarovara *(Vide page 126)*

great Pampāpati temple, is significantly called the *Hêma-Kûtam* or the Golden Group [189] There is also not a more picturesque spot in the vicinity than that chosen and occupied by the Jainas at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, their first colony in the South Mūḍbidrê, in South Kanara, their last stronghold, is thus described by Walhouse in his matchless style —'No Cistercian brotherhood was wiser in choosing a dwelling place than the Jainas Their villages are ever marked by natural beauty and convenience This one named Mūdbidrê is in a slight hollow on the verge of a wide rolling plain, covered after the rains with vast expanses of tall grass between flat lined elevations which are often studded with beds of a light blue gentian The village is embowered in fruit and flower-trees and intersected by a labyrinth of hollow ways or lanes worn deep by the rains and tread of generations Rough steps ascending to a covered entrance like a lynch-gate lead up to the houses that stand back among the trees The banks and walls built of laterite blocks black with age are shrouded with creeping plants, azure convolvuli, and a profusion of delicate ferns sprouting from every crevice, and words are wanting to describe the exquisite varieties of grasses that wave everywhere on walls and roofs Bird-of-paradise plumes, filmiest gossamer, wisps of delicate-spun glass, hardly equal in fairy fineness the pale green plumy tufts that spring in unregarded loveliness after the monsoon Shade and seclusion brood over the peaceful neigh bourhood, and in the midst stand the greatest of Jain temples built nearly five centuries ago ' [190]

189 Ibid , pp 25-6

190 Walhouse, cited by Sturrock, op cit , pp 87-8

III. IDEALISM AND REALISM

(CHARACTERISTICS RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL)

JAINISM AS IT WAS

Jainism as it *was*, at the time of its introduction into Karnāṭaka, was in many respects quite different from what it *came to be* later, owing to the conditions obtaining there But, in order to be able to appreciate this metamorphosis, it is necessary to comprehend clearly the basic ideas and principles of the pristine faith The sources for this are, no doubt, of a comparatively later date, but it is not difficult to distinguish between what was original and what was transformed For, as Carpentier has rightly observed, "the inflexible conservatism of the small Jaina community in holding fast to its original institutions and doctrine has been its strongest safeguard", and in spite of periods of severe affliction, has enabled the Jainas to preserve their canon to a large extent untainted [1] There are indications in inscriptions and bas-reliefs of the first and second century A D of their authenticity going back to a much earlier period, and its oldest elements "may very well go back to the time of the first disciples of Mahāvīra, or at any rate to the Council of Pātaliputra which was held according to tradition under the Maurya king Candragupta at the end of the fourth (or beginning of the third) century B C" [2] The transformations were principally in matters of detail,—and the unconscious modifications which all religions and institutions tend to undergo in matters of practice rather than in the principles underlying them

1 Carpentier *The Cambridge History of India* I, p. 169
2 Macdonnel, *India's Past*, p 71, Jaina Sūtras, S B E, XXII, Introd, pp xl-xlii, Ghosal, *Dravyasamgraha*, SBJ 1, pp 3 4

The first material split within the Jaina community itself came at the time of Bhadrabāhu and Candragupta, largely on account of the calamity of the famine and the consequent migration of the Digambaras to the south [3] In the words of Mrs Sinclair Stevenson, "It was naturally the more vigorous monks who undertook the long journey to South India, and perhaps the older and more infirm ascetics who remained at home had already been allowed to wear some clothing as a concession to their infirmities, the habit of so doing would have been likely now to become general among them Thus one element of division was established among the Jainas, that of difference in practice, and it only remained in order to make the division permanent, that they should have a differing sacred literature" [4] So arose the controversy about the 'clothes', and 'no-clothes', which has ever since divided the community into Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras [5]

There could be little dout that the more severe forms of discipline, represented by the Digambaras, yielded place to the less severe asceticism of the Śvetāmbaras in course of time This supposition is supported by what we know of Mahāvīra and the line of teachers who followed him Mahāvīra himself discarded all clothing and experienced the most painful forms of self-mortification in order to realise his goal [6] The *Ācāranga Sūtra* of the Śvetāmbaras states More than four months many sorts of living beings gathered on his body, crawled about it and caused there pain, but always well guarded he bore the pains caused by grass, cold, fire, flies, and gnats,–manifold pains [7]

3 See pp 4–6 above

4 Stevenson *The Heart of Jainism*, p. 71

5 Literally *Śvetāmbara* means 'white cloth' and *Digambara* means 'direction (sky)-cloth', i e those who wear white clothes and those that wear no clothing As a matter of fact this distinction applies only to ascetics. *Cf* Carpentier, op. cit pp 165-66

6 Jacobi, op cit, p xvii–xviii n 1, Stevenson, op cit, p 49, Bühler, *The Indian Sect of the Jainas*, p 2.

7 *Āchārānga Sūtra* 1 8, 1 2; ibid 3. 1.

Similarly, the *Kalpa Sūtra*, attributed to Bhadrabāhu, states: He with equanimity bore, underwent, suffered all pleasant and unpleasant occurrences arising from divine powers, men or animals, for it is said of an ascetic in the last stage of his spiritual career that he does desire neither life nor death [8] The same severe code must have been followed upto Bhadrabāhu who was the last of the *Śrutakēvalis* [9] But under Sthūlabhadra who convened the Council of Pātaliputra the rigour was mitigated and the Digambaras disapproved of the change [10] The controversy appears to have continued for some time even among the Śvetāmbaras For, Ārya Mahāgiri, the immediate successor of Sthūlabhadra in the Svetāmbara apostolate, being a stricter ascetic, is said to have reverted to the "ideal practice of nakedness" There was reaction again under Suhastin, and Āryamahāgiri retired to Daśārnabhadra out of sheer disgust [11] The new doctrine, however, gained royal support from Aśoka's grandson Samprati, under whom, as we saw, the first Svetāmbara mission was sent to the South Thus from very early times, both these schools of Jaina thought found representation in the South, but by far the most overwhelming epigraphic and archaeological evidence in the South is of the Digambara sect [12]

Despite these and other differences (with which, however, we need not trouble ourselves here) [13] the great Jaina community which came to the South had many things in common, especially in their fundamental doctrines and outlook on life

8 *Kalpa Sūtra*, 117, ibid Rules for Yatis, p 51

9 *Cf* Devasena, Darśanasāra, vv 12-15, *cf* Peterson, Report on San MSS III, p 24

10 Jacobi, op cit, p xliii

11 *Cf.* Stevenson, op cit, p. 74, Barodia, *History and Literature of Jainism*, p. 55.

12 The earliest lithic reference to the S'vetāmbaras in South India is found in an inscription of Kadamba Mrigēśavarma, Ind Ant VII, p 38 Another is in Ep. Car. II, SB 254 In the former they are called '*S'vētapatha*' in the latter '*Sitāmbara*',

13 See Buhler, op. cit., pp. 1-3, Jaini, The Jaina Gazette XX, pp. 93-5.

In the eyes of the masses as well as non-Jaina faiths like Buddhism and Brāhmanism the Jainas were *one*, whether Śvetāmbara or Digambara they represented one school of thought viz , the *Nirgrantha* [14] It is the dominating characteristics of this that we have to examine in the course of this chapter, particularly in the light of their contrast with conditions in Karnātaka

In the first place, what were the features of Jainism before it came to be affected by its competitions with Buddhism Brāhmanism, and Animism ? They were, fundamentally, in respect of their attitude towards God, Creation, Life, Destiny , and more than anything else, their mode of living. Briefly, the Jainas were atheistical but believed in the eternity of existence, universality of Life, immutability of the Law of Karma, and Supreme Intelligence as the means to Self-Liberation In social life they were well organised and followed a rigorous discipline We shall examine these in the light of the conditions that obtained in Karnātaka at the time of their first impact.

The Jainas denied that God, in the sense of the Creator and Sustainer of the universe, existed "If God created the universe," asks Jinasenācārya, " Where was he before creating it ? If he was not in space, where did he localise the universe ? How could a formless or immaterial substance like God create the world of matter ? If the material is to be taken as always existing, why not take the world itself as *unbegun* ? If the creature was uncreated, why not suppose the world to be itself self-existing ? " Then he continues, " Is God self-sufficient ? If he is, he need not have created the world If he is not, like an ordinary potter, he would be incapable of the task, since, by hypothesis, only a perfect being could produce it If God created the world as a mere play of his will, it would be making God childish If God is benevolent and if he has created the world out of his grace, he would not have brought into existence

14 Cf. Bühler, op cit , p 8

misery as well as felicity." [15] Hence, the conclusion of the Jainas was, in the words of Śubhacandra, "*Lōka* (world) was not created, nor is it supported by any being of the name of Hari or Hara, and is in a sense eternal" [16]

But this did not make the Jainas materialistic in the sense of the Cāravāka, whose motto was to make merry while life lasted, since they thought 'the body turned to ashes turns not to life again' [17] On the other hand, the Jainas firmly believed in the eternity of the soul, and insisted upon the very highest rectitude of life, up to final perfection, as a necessary means to permanent happiness now and hereafter [18] The *Pañcāstikāya-sāra* by Kunda-Kundācārya, one of the earliest of South Indian Jaina works, states the Jaina view of life and salvation thus —

"The soul which is the agent of its own *karma* and the enjoyer of the fruits thereof, as conditioned by its own *karma*, gets blinded by the veil of ignorance and roams about in the world of *samsāra*, which is limited for the faithful and unlimited for the unfaithful

"Suppressing or annihilating the veil of ignorance which clouds the faculties of perception and will, well equipped with the *Three Jewels*, the undaunted pilgrim that has conquered the suffering and pain due to the environment, beckoned by the ideal of self-knowledge, wades through the path and reaches the Divine City of Perfection" [19]

Both the rationalistic atheism, as well as, the high spiritual idealism of the Jainas, contained in the above passages, were in contrast with the animistic faith of the Dravidians and the priest-ridden ritualism of the Brāhmaṇas The latter too

15 Latthe, *An Introduction to Jainism*, pp 85 87 Jinasena, *Ādi Purāṇa* ch III, cf Bhandarkar, Report on San MSS, 1883-84, p 118

16 S'ubhacandra, Com *Kārtikeyānuprēkṣā* ch X, cf Bhandārkar, op cit, p 11?

17 *Cf* Tilak, *Gitārahasya*, ch IV, pp 77 78, cf Belvalkar add Rānade, *Hist of Ind Philosophy* II, pp 408, 459

18 Warren, *Jainism*, p 2.

19 *Pañcāstikāya*, S B J, III, 75-76.

believed in the doctrine of *karma*, but their interpretation of it rested more on the performance or non-performance of sacrifices and other details of Brāhmanical retualism than on ethical conduct. The Jainas, on the other hand, laid stress on the moral responsibility which was applicable, not merely to human beings but equally well to the animal and lower existences [20] Strange as this might sound to many ears, this theory was perfectly logical in the light of their definition of *Jīva* or Soul. Kundakunda states that "*Jīva* is conscious, formless, characterised by *Upayôga*, attached to *Karma*, the lord, the agent, the enjoyer (of the fruits of *karma*), the pervader of bodies (large or small), that which goes upward to the end of *Lôka*, being freed from the impurity of *karma*" [21] Life was universally the same and it was governed by the same immutable law of cause and effect Not only was man endowed with *Jīva* but all creatures including plants, animals, birds, insects, and even atomic invisible beings had life This hylozoitic theory, as Jacobi calls it, is an important characteristic of the Jainas, and "pervades their whole philosophic system and code of morals" [22] It was quite different from the animistic belief in the existence of spirits in stones trees, and running brooks The latter had to be propitiated with bloody sacrifices destroying other forms of precious life But, according to the Jainas, life in all its forms was sacred, and it moved upwards to the same goal, and was not to be disturbed or disintegrated by any kind of voilence This was the *rationale* or psychology underlying perhaps by far the most dominating characteristic of Jainism, *viz* the principles of *Ahimsa* [23]

The implications of this doctrine are perhaps nowhere better illustrated than in a story contained in the *Yeśastilaka-Campu*

20 'कुव्वदि हिदमहिद वा भुंजदि जीवो फलं तेसिं', ibid, 122, cf *Dravyasamgraha*, ibid I, pp 36-39

21 *Pañcāstikāya-sāra*, S B J III, 27; cf *Dravyasamgraha*, ibid I, pp 6-7

22 Jacobi, op cit, p xxxiii

23 Smith, op cit, p 53

by Somadeva. It is related therein that a prince, Yeśodhara by name, was once stricken with great remorse for the delinquency of his wife. He thought of renouncing his kingdom and becoming an ascetic His mother, seeing his malady, proposed that the offence could be atoned for by performing a huge sacrifice involving the slaughter of numerous animals The noble prince protested, saying that violence to life was the greatest of sins Moreover, he was actuated with a high sense of duty and declared

राज्ञि धर्मिणि धर्मिष्ठा पापे पापाः समेसमाः ।
राजानं अनुवर्तंते यथा राजा तथा प्रजा ॥

"If the king be righteous, they are righteous, if he be wicked, they are wicked, if he be neither good nor wicked, such also are they, they walk in the way of the king as the king is, so are the people"

The king's plea was, of course, that *Ahimsa* was the highest of principles The poet has cleverly, but with great truth, represented the mother as quoting *Manusmrti* wherein it is stated,

यज्ञार्थं पशवः सृष्टाः स्वयमेव स्वयंभुवा ।
यज्ञो हि भूत्यै सर्वेषां तस्माद्यज्ञे वधोऽवधः ॥ V 39

"Animals have been created for sacrifice, by the self-existing (Brahma) himself, hence, the killing of animals in sacrifice, does not involve any sin"

The king in vain argued against this, but for all his pains the mother thought, **अहो मदीय सुते सांप्रतं जैनजनवात इवळ्यः प्रतिभासते.** 'My son is blown about by the wind of Jaina doctrine' Finally, Yaśodhara assented to the sacrifice of an *effigy* instead of the live animal itself But as a consequence of this symbolical violence, both of them had to undergo suffering in a round of numerous transmigrations [24] The moral is obvious, and it illustrates the extreme insistence of the Jainas on the principle of ***Ahimsa***, no less than the theory of ***karma***. The contrast

24 *Yás'astılakā campu*, cf Peterson, op cit IV, pp. 42-44.

with Brāhmanic teaching is also not to be lost sight of The victory of the Jainas as against the Brāhmanas is illustrated by the writings of Tiruvalluvar the great "pariah" writer of the first or second century A D. He declares

"To abstain from the killing and eating of living beings is better than to perform a thousand sacrifices in the sacrificial fire" Again,

"Behold the man who killed not and abstaineth from flesh-meat all the world joineth hands to do him reverence"

"The greatest of virtues is non-killing killing bringeth in its train every other sin

"They may say, sacrifices gain for a man many blessings but to the pure in heart the blessings that are earned by killing are an abomination."[25]

The fact that Tiruvalluvar imbibed the spirit of this excellent doctrine and helped to propagate it only proves the permeation of Jaina teachings in the lowest strata of Dravidian society. It also indicates beyond doubt that the Jainas made no distinctions of caste at that time In contrast to this we understand from the *Tholkāppiyam* a Brāhmanical work that, already in the fourth century B C, the study of the *Vedas* was prohibited to the lowest among the *Veḷḷālars* or agriculturists[26] Manu's restrictions on the *Śūdras* are too well-known to need citation[27] An illustration from the *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* will make the Jaina attitude towards the 'poorest, and lowliest, and lost,' quite clear.

Harikēśa was a *Śvapāka* or *cāndāla* He became a great sage possessed of the highest virtues, with his senses wholly subdued Once on his begging tours he approached the enclosure of a Brāhmanical sacrifice He declared

"O Brāhmaṇas, why do you tend the fire or seek external purity by water? The wise ones say that external purity, which you seek for, is not the right thing

25 *Kūraḷ*, chs XXVI 259, 260 and XXXII 321, 328.
26 *Cf* Shesha Iyangar, *Dravidian India*, p 179
27 E G नशूद्राय मतिं दद्यान्नोच्छिष्टं न हविष्कृतम् ॥ न चास्योपदिशेद्धर्मं न चास्य व्रत-मादिशेत् ॥ *Manusmṛti* ch. IV 80.

"You use *Kuśa*-grass, sacrificial poles, straw, and wood; you touch the water in the morning and in the evening, thereby you injure living beings and in your ignorance you commit sins over and over again

"The law is my pond, celibacy my holy bathing place which is not turbid, penance is my fire, life my fire-place, right exertion is my sacrificial ladle, the body, the dried cow-dung, *karman* is my fuel, self-control, right exertion, and tranquillity are the oblations, praised by the sages, which I offer"

No wonder the *Uttarādhyayana* proclaims "The value of penance has become visible, *birth appears of no value* Look at the holy Harikeśa, the son of a *Śvapāka* whose power is so great"[28]

The above illustration also serves to indicate some of the moral virtues sought to be inculcated by the early Jainas Kunda-kundācārya, in the South, adds, "Inordinate taste for worldly things, impure emotions, hankering for and indulging in sensual pleasures, causing anguish to fellow-beings, and slandering them openly or covertly, these constitute the springs of evil" So, "To whatever extent the five senses, the four taints of emotions, the four instinctive appetites, are suppressed by a person, well established in the path of righteousness, to such extent the doorway for the entrance of evil is closed for that person"[29] Kanakasabhai Pillai has observed that *Nirgranthas* and Buddhists aimed at a high ideal of morality and that these two religions "necessarily exercised a very considerable influence upon moral and intellectual order, upon public ideas and sentiments in the Tamil country"[30] The same might be said about Karnāṭaka. This was the natural outcome of a teaching that inculcated civic and philanthropic virtues born out of the principle of *Ahimsa*, which, in its active form, meant helping

28 *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, S B E XLV, pp. 50-56; Buhler, op cit pp 3-4

29 *Pancāstikāya sāra*, S B J. III, vv. 146, 147.

30 Kanakasabhai Pillai, *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, pp. 233-34.

humanity in its struggle for emancipation "In the case of the wise ones", says Kundakunda, "moved by pity, they help the struggling souls to emancipation." He also explains, "If any one, moved at the sight of the thirsty, the hungry and the miserable, offers them relief out of pity, then such behaviour of that person is love or charity"[31] Such a humane message was certainly needed by the 'blood-thirsty Māravar' who shot arrows at innocent travellers 'merely to feast their eyes over the quivering limbs of their helpless victims', and the early Tamils who "considered it an honour and a virtue in a military man to carry off the people's wives, to devastate the enemy's fields, to destroy their houses and to lift the cattle of neighbouring tribes."[32]

The social organisation of the Jainas was designed to carry out in practice the ideals briefly indicated above They only showed their practical good sense when they divided their community into two sections, viz, the *Yatis* and the *Śrāvakas* The former were the ascetics and the latter the lay community The Buddhists had a similar organisation of monks and laymen, but, as Smith has pointed out, they relied more on the *Samgha* of ordained friars than on the laity[33] Among the Jainas the relation between the two sections was more balanced, and hence their social equilibrium was stable[34] As in the case of the *Āsramas* or four stages, viz, *Brahmacarya*, *Gṛhasta*, *Vānaprastha*, and *Sanyāsa* of the Brāhmanas, the difference between the Jaina *Yatis* and *Śrāvakas* was one of stages Literally, the *Yati* was one who strove (यत् - to strive) and the *Śrāvaka*, one who listened (श्रु - to hear) The one struggled actively for emancipation, the other tried to follow by acting up to his teachings, so far as he could, within the limits imposed

29 *Pancāstikāya-sāra*, S, B J III, vv 146, 147
30 Kanakasabhai Pillai, *The Tamils 1800 Years Ago*, pp 233-34
31 *Pancāstikāya-sāra*, S B J III, vv 143, 144
32 *Cf* Ch X n 15 above, S'rinivāsa Aiyangar, *Tamil Studies*, p 194.
33 Smith, op cit, p. 52.
34 *Cf* Stevenson, op. cit., p. 67; Macdonell, op. cit., p. 70.

by the worldly life [35] But the end was the same, and a layman ultimately looked to becoming a full-grown ascetic For, according to the Jaina, emancipation could be had only at the end of a period of rigorous self-mortification, which was possible only for an ascetic to undergo [36] *Nirvāna* was the goal to be attained According to the Digambaras complete nudity was essential for this, the Śvetāmbaras thought that it was not absolutely necessary [37] In the *Uttarādhyayana*, belonging to the latter, it is stated that "*Some house-holders are superior to some monks*, but the saints are superior to all house-holders" [38] The Digambaras, being more severe in their view of asceticism, differed from the Śvetāmbaras in this and another important respects, *viz*, as regards their treatment of woman The Śvetāmbaras admitted that woman too could attain salvation and hence allowed them to become nuns There are rules in their sacred books for the guidance of nuns no less than for the monks [39] On the contrary, the Digambaras definitely closed the doors of salvation against house-holders and woman, undoubtedly as a corollary to their extreme insistance on nakedness Śrutasāgara plainly states,—

खंडनी पेषनी चुल्ली उदकुंभ प्रमार्जनी। पञ्चसूना गृहस्थस्य तेन मोक्षं न गच्छति ॥ तथा स्त्रीणामपि मुक्तिर्न भवति महाव्रताभावात्। तदपि कस्मान्न भवति। कक्षयो-स्तनयोरंतरे नाभौ योनौ च जीवानामुत्पत्तिविनाशलक्षणहिंसासद्भावात्॥ निशंकत्वा-भावात्। वस्त्रपरिग्रहात्यजनात् ॥ अहमिंद्रपदमपि न लभते कथं निर्वाणमिति हेतोश्च ॥

The reasons are that women and house-holders cannot attain *Nirvāna* for their inability to obverve certain injunctions [40]

35 Ibid, p 69

36 This period extended from one *antarmuhūrta* before death to twelve years at the most Ibid,, p 70, Jacobi, Death and Disposal of the Dead (Jain), E R E IV, P 485

37 Buhler, op cit, p 2, Burgess, Ind Ant, p 28

38 *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, SB E XLV, 5-20

39 *e g Kalpa Sūtra*, Rules for Yatis, S B E XXII, p 297

40 S'rutasāgara, *Shatprabhrta tika*, of Peterson, op cit II, pp. 84-85; see also Devasena's *Bhāvasamgraha*, M. D. J G. XX, pp, 26-7 vv 92-8.

Devasena, in his *Darśanasārasamgraha* says, that Jinacandra, pupil of Śāntyācārya, pupil of Śri Bhadra-bāhugaṇin, being "wicked and slow to good works," devised the doctrine that "women in their life as women can be saved," "these and other false doctrines he made perverting the scriptures and thereby plunged his soul in the first hell"[41] And there seems little doubt that (apart from details) this was the general attitude towards women since the days of Mahāvīra and Buddha To illustrate this remark we have only to recount a few passages from the Śvetāmbara and Buddhist writings

The *Kalpa Sūtra* lays down many a rule restricting social intercourse between monks and nuns The terms in which these rules are stated betray an utter lack of faith in woman's nature, if not in human nature itself It prohibits, for instance, a monk and a nun to stand under a tree, even if it rained, unless it be in company with other members of either sex or the place was distinctly visible to passers by[42] The *Sūtra Kṛtānga* is more explicit and lays down that "even a monk who practices severe austerities should *avoid* the company of women" The reason is plainly stated "As men (by baiting) with a piece of flesh a fearless single lion get him into a trap, so *women may capture an ascetic though he be careful*," and "as antelope caught in a snare, so he does not get out of it, however he struggles, afterwards he will feel remorse like one who has drunk milk mixed with poison" So, "considering the consequences, a worthy monk should have no intercourse with women"[43]

Buddha, like all other ascetics, was not less diffident about the influence of women on spiritual life When Mahāpajāpati, his own aunt, got herself admitted into the Order by evoking the pity of Ānanda (Buddha's most trusted disciple), and Buddha yielded to the importunities much against his will, he

41 Devasena *Darśanasamgraha*, vv 12-15, cf Peterson, op cit III p 24.
42 *Kalpa Sūtra*, S B E XXII, p 303, vv 38-39
43 *Sūtrakṛtānga*, ibid., pp 272-273, vv 8-10, 12,

declared, "If women had not received the going-forth (*i. e* initiation) in the doctrine and discipline, the religious system (*Brahmacarya*) would have lasted long, the good doctrine would have stayed for a thousand years, but as women have gone forth, now the religious system will not last long, now, Ānanda, the good doctrine will last only five hundred years"[44] Similarly, with regard to house-holders "Cramped and confined is house-hold life," said Buddha, "a den of dust, but the life of the homeless one is as the open air of heaven Hard is it for him who bides at home to live out, as it should be lived, the Holy Life in all its perfection, in all its purity!"[45]

And Manu, in spite of his oft-quoted line यत्र नार्यस्तु पूज्यंते रमंते तत्र देवताः prohibited woman even to read the Vedas,—*a prohibition which he places on woman and Śūdra alike*[46] This raises the suspicion that the causes may have been cognate, *viz*, that like the *Śūdras* a considerable section of Aryan wives might have at that time come from the hated *Dasyu* or non-Aryan

But whatever the reasons, the above parallels, illustrate the genesis of the Digambara attitude towards woman, which had its roots in the psychological back-ground of the age The Jainas justify it on purely philosophical grounds In many other respects, as well, Jainism resembled Buddhism on the one hand, and Brāhmanism on the other In the opinion of Prof Buhler, Jainism stands nearer the Brāhmana than the Buddhist system[47] Learned comparisions have been made by him and other scholars like Prof Jacobi and Dr Bhandārkar, but with this, however, we are not here directly concerned[48] The question of borrowing and indebtness is also vain to discuss, and we can only say, in the words of Jacobi, that the various systems "are

44 *Cf* Thomas, *The Life of Buddha*, pp 108-109

45 *Majjima Nikāya* II, p 99 (tr S'īlācāra), cf Mookerji, *Men and Thought in Ancient India*, pp 35 7; Rhys Davids, *Buddism*, p 125

46 *Manusmrti*, Chs V 155, IX 18, and IV 80

47 Buhler, op cit, pp 11-12, *Baudhāyana* II, 10-18, S B E XIV, p. 275

48 Jacobi, S. B E XXII Introd, pp xiii, xvii-xxiv and xxxiii-xxxv; E R E VII, p 465 *cf* Bhandārkar, op cit, pp 101-102.

related to each other by a kind of affinity of ideas"[49] For example, *Ahimsa* and *Karma* Similarly the *Ratna-trayi* or the Three Jewels (Right Faith, Right Knowledge, and Right Action) of the Jainas might be compared to the Eightfold Path elaborated by Buddha i *Right Belief*, ii. *Right Aims*, iii Right Speech, iv. *Right Actions*, v Right means of Livelihood, vi Right Endeavour, vii Right Mindfulness, viii Right Meditation[50] On the other hand, the five great vows of the Jainas, viz, *Ahimsa, Sunrita, Astêya, Brahmacarya,* and *Aparigraha* were exactly the same as those laid down by Patanjali in his *Yôga Sûtras,*[51] though in the Jaina system they were elaborated and explained in a manner unsurpassed by others in minuteness of detail and painstaking observation The Jaina idea of *Ahimsa,* for example, extends far beyond the Brāhmanical or Buddhist notions "Lest plants and animalculae be destroyed, the Jaina ascetic sweeps the ground before him as he goes, walks veiled lest he inhale a living organism, strains water, and rejects not only meat but even honey, together with various fruits that are supposed to contain worms, not because he has distaste for worms, but because of his regard for life "[52] We shall consider in the next chapter how these characteristics of the Jaina religion and society came to be transformed in Karnātaka in the course of a few centuries until at the present day the Jainas of Karnātaka are hardly to be distinguished from other Hindus, both in their beliefs as well as in their practical life

49 Jacobi, S B E XLV Introd, p xxxvii

50 *Cf* Jaini, *Outline of Jainism,* pp 52-66, Rhys Davids, op. cit., pp 47, 108

51 *Pāthanjala Yôga Sûtra* II 35 39, *Ācūranga Sutra,* S B J XXII, pp 200-210

52 Hopkins, *The Religions of India,* p 288, *cf* Smith, op cit, p 53 Jaini, op cit, (Trades and Industries) p 71 The minuteness of observation to which this doctrine led is seen in the *Kalpa Sutra,* Rules for Yatis, S B E XXII, pp 304-5, similarly, for details of discipline see Aśādhara *Dharmāmṛta* ch viii, *cf* Bhandārkar, op cit, p 98 n 2

JAINISM AS IT CAME TO BE

The imperceptible way in which religions change in the course of centuries, especially when placed under conditions different from their original atmosphere, affords an interesting branch of investigation Prof Luders alluded to this fact in the course of his valuable lectures on 'Aryan Civilization in Central Asia' delivered in 1928 under the auspices of the Bombay University He pointed out, from the evidence inscribed on pieces of leather and wooden tablets found in China, how Buddhism in that country had been so transformed as to admit of *Śramanas* who were married, owned slaves, and took part in commercial transactions, as well as believed in the expiation of sin by payment in money, forgetting the pure principles of the religion which they pretended to follow Similarly, Smith has observed, that, "While the original official Buddhism was a dry, highly moralised philosophy, much resembling in its practical operation the Stoic schools of Greece and Rome, the later emotional Buddhism approached closely to Christian doctrines *in substance, although not in name* In other directions it became almost indistinguishable from Hinduism"[53] What happened to Jainism in Karnātaka was not unlike this in many respects

In the first place, with regard to its atheism "Since the doctrine gave no other support," says Buhler, "the religious feeling of the laity clung to the founder of it, Jina, and with him his mythical predecessors became gods In many of their hymns in honour of Jina they appeal to him with as much fervour as the Brāhmana to his gods, and there are often expressions in them, contrary to the original teaching, ascribing to Jina a creative power Indeed, a Jaina description of the six principal systems goes so far as to number Jainism, as also Buddhism, among the theistic religions"[54] Epigraphic and

53 Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p 55

54 The work referred to is *Saddars'anasamuccaya*, 45, 77 8, Bühler, *The Indian Sect of the Jainas*, pp 18-20, cf Barth, *Religions of India*, p 146, Thomas, *The Life of Buddha*, p. 214.

literary evidence, in support of these statements, is indeed, easy to find For instance, in one inscription Jina is spoken of thus. जयत्यतिशयजिनभासुरासुरवन्दिताः श्रीमान् जिनपति सृष्टेरादेः कर्ता। *Jina* or *Jina-pati*, adored by the gods, is here described as सृष्टेरादेः कर्ता or the *first* Creator of the world[55] Speaking of another such epigraph at Tumkūr, Rice has pointed out, "In an endeavour to accomodate itself to the age, Jina is described as the Universal Spirit who is Śiva, Dhātri (Brahma), Sugata (Buddha) and Viṣṇu".[56] Likewise, a Jaina grant of the Ratta King, Kārtivīryadeva, says that "the dust of the earth may be counted, and the drops of rain, but the reward of preserving an act of piety cannot be estimated even by the *Creator*"[57]

We have already noticed in numerous Jaina grants such acts of piety either in the shape of building, or of endowing temples for their upkeep, repairs, or carrying on the eight-fold worship of the gods[58] Fergusson has remarked that the Jainas built temples out of all proportion to their population owing to the belief that temple-building was a means to salvation, temples were really 'prayers in stone'[59] Śravaṇa Beḷgola is one witness to this spirit of devotion It attracted pilgrims from all places who have left their mark on the local records Princes and people alike made grants for anointing the images with milk, and decorating them with flowers and garlands[60] Similarly, gifts were made for feeding ascetics, construction of water-sheds for the use of Jaina devotees, for the study of *Sūtras*, for burning lamps before the gods, and for their daily

55 Fleet S and O C Inscription, Ind Ant VII p 106, LL 51-2, Br Sutalprasadji points out that for Jaina poets these terms had a different meaning *e g* that सृष्टेरादे कर्ता "means Rishabhadeva who made rules in कर्मभूमि and not creator of the world"

56 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 203, Tumkur 9

57 Fleet, Ratta Inscriptions, J B B R A S X, p 239

58 *Cf* Mysore Archaeological Report, 1926, p. 51, Ep Ind III, pp 207-9, 11

59 Fergusson, *Hist of Ind and East, Arch* II, p 26

60 *Cf*. Ep. Car. II, SB 235-8, 242 5, 247, 268 and Introd, pp. 72-3, 77 8,89.

worship. There are interesting examples of thirty to a hundred sheep being offered as the price of burning a lamp, probably all the year round as a perpetual endowment [61] The popular awe and respect for these grants is indicated by the imprecations with which such inscriptions generally close *e g* "Whosoever takes away land presented by himself or by another is born a worm in ordure for 60,000 years The property of the gods is a dreadful poison, poison destroys a single person, but a gift to the gods (if seized) destroys sons and grandsons [62]

The kind of image worship and temple ritual implied by the above evidences arose among the laity and not among the monks, says Jacobi "When the people in general felt the want of a higher cult than that of their rude dieties and demons, and when the religious development of India found in *Bhakti* (devotion) the supreme means of salvation" [63] Evidently, the theory of Karma, as well, underwent considerable modification when once the Jina was invested with divine grace, and he that was once but a supreme example of conduct became in course of time a saviour of souls by the direct power of divine interference [63a] Thus Rsabha came to be described as a ship for crossing the ocean of *Samsāra*, and a protector against the wild beasts passions, in the forest of the world. Nay, more, by the repetition of his divine name all troubles could be overcome Miraculous hymns, like the *Bhaktāmara-Stôtra* and *Kalyānamandira-stôtra*, came to be composed, by the help of which, for instance, Mānatunga is supposed to have got himself released

61 *Cf* Rangāchārya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* II, Mr 184 5, SK 212, Rd 17, and ibid, Im pp 23 -31 See also Mysore Archaeological Reports, 1925, pp 15-16, and 1916, p 51

62 Rice, Inscriptions, Ep Car I, p. 52 The S'aiva form of this was, that tampering with such grants was tantamount to 'killing twenty cows on the banks of the Ganges or pulling out a thousand *lingas*, etc' *Cf* Hultzsch, S I I II, p 499

63 Jacobi, Jaina Sūtras, S B E XXII Introd, p xxi

63a Br Sitalprasadji writes to me, "The Jaina poets describe *Arhats* or *Tirthankaras*, not as direct doers of actions, but as indirect helpers By worshipping them we get merit that helps in having our desires fulfilled."

from the bondage of fortytwo chains, and Siddhasênadivâkara to have converted a Śiva-linga into the image of Pārśvanātha [64] That such stories are repeated even in the case of learned sages like Samantabhadra, Akalanka, and others is only proof that this *Bhakti* movement did not confine itself to the laity in the long run Akalanka is said to have invoked the goddess *Kūshmāndini* to work a miracle against the Buddhist goddess *Tārā*, and by her interference won a victory over his rivals [65] We have already alluded to Elācārya's allaying the devil by means of the *Jwālāmālini-stôtra* [66] There are in the inscriptions, as well, frequent allusions to the goddess *Padmāvati* who still finds a large number of devotees, especially among the Jainas of the Kannada speaking districts For instance, one at Bêlūr speaks of a *Jainavratīsa* (ascetic) who by his *mantras* was subduing the goddess *Padmāvati* for the increase of the wealth of the Hoysalas, later on we are told, "that *Yakshi* became worshipped as the goddess *Vasantikā* [67]

Ammanavara caritrê or the "Doings of the Mother" is a manuscript which is commonly found in the possession of many Jainas in the Kannada country, and Buchanan also refers to it as '*Amonora carita*' Indeed, the light that Buchanan throws on the popular form of Jainism at the time of his visit, about a

64 *Cf Marāthi Jnāna Kôs'a* (ज), p 332 33 I have seen manuscripts of these hymns well illustrated with magic symbols and detailed instructions as to the number, place, time, etc for the repetition of each *mantra*, as well as miraculous powers attributed to each, such as the power of bestowing wealth, longivity, immunity from fire, accident, etc etc They are in the *Sri Ailak Pannālāl Digambara Jaina Saraswatībhavana*, Bhuleswar Bombay, and some of them have been published by Mr. Nāthuram Premi, in the *Hindi Grantha-Ratnānkara Kāryālaya*, Hirābag, Bombay 4

65 *Cf* Ep Car II Introd, p 84

66 *Cf* Hirālāl, Catalogue of MSS in C P and Berar, Introd, p xxix

67 *Cf* Buchanan's *Travels* III, p 81, Ep Car V, Belur 124, trans., p. 88. The name of the *Jaina-vratis'a*, referred to in this epigraph is stated to be *Varāhamāna munindra* in the list of the Humcha *gurus*. Cf. Rice Mysore and Coorg I, p 374

century ago, is valuable, especially as he says he derived his information from Panditācārya Swāmi, the guru of the Jainas, who claimed to be equal to the chief Pontiff at Śravaṇa Beḷgola[68] According to him, the Jainas denied the authority of the Brāhmanical *Vedas* and their eighteen *Purānas*, but their greatest authorities were *Gommata-Sāra, Trilokasāra*, and *Lubda-*(*Lubdhi ?*) *Sāra*, These they considered as holy as the Brāhmanical *Vedas*, and believed they were composed by *Ādi Brahma* or *Ādiśwara* Sometimes it is difficult to follow (whether Buchanan or his informant we can hardly say), when, for instance, it is also stated that their chief book was *Yôga* (written in Sanskrit with Kannada characters) explained by twentyfour *purānas* all composed by *Vrishabha-Sāyana* (?)[68a] "Who attained divine knowledge by long prayer "[69] However, there could not be the least doubt as to the nature of the popular beliefs We transcribe below a few specimens —

" The gods of the *Arhita* are spirits of perfect men, who owing to virtue have become free from changes and are all equal in rank and power They are called *Jinêśwara* (the Lord Jina), *Arhita* (worthy), or *Siddha* ('holy' ?) These live in a heaven called *Môcsha* (*Môksa*) , *it is by their worship only that future happiness can be obtained The first Jina was Ādi Paramêśwara who has* 1008 *names*

" The servants of the *Siddhas* are spirits of good men who live in an inferior heaven called *Swargam* They enjoy happiness there according to their merits *Swargam* is situated higher in the air than Mount Mêru ('North Pole'), *men ought to worship these as they possess the power of bestowing temporal gifts*

" Concerning Vishnu they say that he was a king who owing to good works, was born as Rāma He was a great hero and conqueror, and finally became a *Siddha* or *Jina*. Mahêśwara or Śiva, and Brahma are only *devatās* inferior

68 Buchanan, op cit, pp 75, 79.

68a वृषभसेन the first Tirthankara ?

69 Ibid., pp. 76 and 412.

in rank to Indra who is the chief of all happy beings in *Swargam* There are sixteen stages in this heaven.

"*Mārima, Putalima*, and other *Śaktis* are *Ventarus*, living on Mount Mēru, *but they are of malevolent disposition* Below Mahāmēru and earth is *Bhuvana* or hell, the residence of *the spirits of wicked men* who are called *Rākśasas* and *Asuras*, and although endowed with great power they are miserable *Bhuvana* is divided into ten places of punishment in proportion to the crimes performed by their inhabitants .. etc etc etc "[70]

Here, indeed, is a *khicari* of all faiths and beliefs both Aryan and Dravidian, Hindu as well as Jaina *Mārima* and *Putalima* who were worshipped with bloody sacrifices have here entered the Jaina pantheon, evidently divested of all their ferocious and blood-thirsty character In the Dhārwār District, Jainas of all classes are said to believe in sorcerers, witches, sooth-sayers, and consult them in cases of sickness or other calamities [71] Similarly, Thurston speaks of the worship of *Bhūtas* or devils by the Jainas of South Kanara They set apart a room for them in their houses, called the *Padōlē*, but instead of sacrifices they offer to them metal images of fowls, goats, pigs, etc [72] As a matter of fact such a metamorphesis in the practical aspects of Jaina belief was inevitable For, in the words of Jacobi, "generally speaking, the notions of the Jainas about demons, ghosts, ete were very much the same as those of other Hindus, but the position of the Superhuman beings was, in many respects, altered by the efforts of the Jainas to introduce systematic order into the Mythological conceptions current at the time when their religious teachings were reduced to a definite form "[73]

70 Ibid, pp 76–8

71 *Cf* Dhārwār, Bom Gaz XXII, p 118

72 Thurston, *The Castes and Tribes of Southern India* II, p 427, cf, Sturrock, *South Kanara* I, p 189

73 Jacobi, Demons and Spirits, E R E IV, p 608, Ibid Cosmography pp 160 61

The next point in respect of which the Jainas have apparently changed is with regard to *Ahimsa* There seems little doubt that they have changed in *practice* though not in *theory* In the first place, it is necessary to remember that originally they insisted upon non-injury to life, in *thought, word and deed* The *Gupti* or restraints were of three kinds, viz , मनोगुप्ति, वाग्गुप्ति, and कायगुप्ति *Bhāva-san'vara* or thought-restraint was the first, and of primary importance It consisted, above all, of the observance of the five *Vratas*, or vows, viz (i) *Ahimsa (not to cause or tend to cause pain or destruction to any living being by thought, speech, or conduct)*, (ii) *Satya* (truth in thought, speech and deed), (iii) *Astêya* (to take nothing, unless, and except, it is given), (iv) *Brahmacarya* (chastity, on the devoted contemplation of self by the soul), (v) *Parigraha-tyāga* (*renunciation of worldly concerns*) [74] It is significant to notice that Tiruvalluvar imbibing fully the spirit of these teachings declared " The greatest virtue of all is non-killing *truthfulness cometh only next* " [75]

In the light of this, therefore, it is difficult to understand how an ascetic like Simhanandi could help or even inspire the Ganga Kings to found their Kingdom of Gangawādi, except in contradiction to these principles For, it is also a well known injunction for the ascetic that he begin nothing (*i e* do nothing that has the seed of another life in it) [76] Hence, the foundation of a kingdom inevitably based on force and blood-shed was undoubtedly in violation of the *vratās* of *Ahimsa* and *Parigraha-tyāga* [77]

74 Jaini, *Outlines of Jainism* pp 96-7

75 Kural, XXXIII 323

76 Kundakunda, *Satpāhuda* , *cf* Peterson, Report on San MSS II, p 82

77 *Cf* It is inteteresting to note in this connection the remarks of Mr Bertrand Russel about Japanese Buddhism and Teutonic Christianity " What the Japanese made of Buddhism reminds one in many ways of what the Teutonic nations made of Christianity Buddhism and Christianity, originally, were both religions aiming at the achievement of holiness by renunciation of the world. They both ignored

"He who loves the world," says Kundakunda, "is bound in the chain of works. He who loves it not is loosed. This is in brief the doctrine of the Jainas with regard to the deliverance from spiritual bondage."[78] But very often the Jaina teachers lost sight of this teaching, particularly, in their keen rivalry with the Buddhist and other sects Akalanka, for instance, we are told entered into a compact with king Hastimalla to grind the Buddhists in oil-mills in case of the latter's defeat in religious controversy[79] That this was not actually enforced does not absolve the Jaina *guru* from the sin of hypothetical violence, even as king Yaśodhara could not escape from the cycle of numerous re-births on account of his symbolical sacrifice, noticed earlier Likewise, we find them carelessly giving vent to feelings of hatred against their Buddhist and other rivals in expressions like "Prosperity to Jinaśāsana, powerful to rebut its assailants, in *splitting the skulls* of the elephants opponents speakers", [80] and "This king Jayaduttaranga *cleft open the frontal globes* of the lordly elephants the arrogant false disputants of the *Ekānta-Mata* with the thunderbolts the arguments based on scriptures" [81] Māghanandi, a

politics and government and wealth, for which they substituted the future life as what was of real importance They were both religions of peace, teaching gentleness and non-resistance. But both had to undergo great transformations in adapting themselves to the instinct of warlike barbarians In Japan a multitude of sects arose, teaching doctrines which differed in many ways from Mahāyāna orthodoxy(?) Buddhism became national and militaristic; the abbots of great monasteries became important feudal chieftains, whose monks constituted an army which was ready to fight on the slightest provocation Sieges of monasteries and battles with monks are of constant occurrence in Japanese history" Russel, *The Problem of China*, pp. 91-2.

78 Kundakunda op cit

79 *Cf* Ep. Car II Introd, p 84

80 Ibid V, Trans, pp. 189-90

81 *Cf* Kudlur Plates of Mārasimha, Mysore Archaeological Report, 1921, p 22.

Jaina ascetic, is described as "a lion to the herd of rutting elephants the Mimānsakas".[82] Students of subconscious psychology may not be blamed for finding in these expressions revelations of suppressed feelings of violent anger *That the violence stopped only with words must be remembered to their credit*, but even this expression in words is undoubtedly a violation of their strict doctrine of *Ahimsa* as interpreted by themselves The following quibble only goes to support our contention that, out of practical considerations, the Jainas practically transgressed what they theoretically attempted to inculcate In support of Kumārapāla's infliction of capital punishment upon all those who offended in any way against the doctrine of *Ahimsa*, it is contended

'A true Jaina will do nothing to hurt the feelings of another person, man, woman or child , nor will he violate the principles of Jainism Jaina ethics are meant for men of all positions—for kings, warriors, traders, artisans, agriculturists, and indeed for men and women in every walk of life "Do your duty Do it as humanely as you can " This in brief is the primary principle of Jainism *Non-killing cannot interfere with one's duties* The king or the judge has to hang a murderer The murderer's act is negation of a right of the murdered The king's or the judge's order is the negation of this negation, *and is enjoined by Jainism* as a duty Similarly, the soldier's killing on the battle-field '[83]

It can hardly be contended that all the wars fought by Jaina kings and soldiers in Karnātaka orelsewhere were "a negation of any negation " except it be " a negation of their own principle of Ahimsa " *But, it should be conceded that Jainism has been largely responsible for making Karnātaka, in the main, vegetarian, and Ahimsa still form the substratum of Indian character as a whole For hundreds of persecutions of the Jainas by non-Jainas we can hardly find a single instance where the reverse happened*

82 Ep Car II SB 64, Trans , pp 17 18

83 Smith, op cit , p 53, Cf Jaini, op cit , p 72.

Thirdly, the development of castes and sub-castes among the Jainas of Karnāṭaka throws ample light upon the problem of caste-origins in India We have already noted their division into Śvetāmbara and Digambara, not merely do these not interdine or intermarry, but in their hatred of each other, forget even the highest principle of their religion, namely, *Ahimsa*.[84] The *Ācāranga Sūtra* lays down that "To friendly or hostile (*heretics*) one should not give food, drink, dainties and spices, clothes, alms-bowls, and brooms, nor exhort these persons to give (such things) nor do them service, always showing the highest respect"[85] We shall consider here a few cases of how the division and sub-division was carried on to a fatal extremity, by the Jainas in Karnātaka leading to their ultimate fall or practical absorbtion by other communities

In the first place, according to Smith, "The propagation of *Ahimsa* necessarily produced a sharp conflict of ideas and principles of conduct between the adherents of the doctrine and the old-fashioned people who clung to bloody sacrifices, cow-killing, and meat-eating Communities which had renounced the old practices and condemned them as revolting impieties naturally separated themselves from their more easy-going and self-indulgent neighbours, and formed castes bound strictly to maintain the novel code of ethics"[86] Secondly, divisions arose within the Jaina community itself due to several reasons An inscription at Śravana Belgola states —

"Arhadbalin, who, by means of the eight-fold omens consisting of *Vyanjana*, *Svara*, *Nabha*, *Tanu*, *Laksana*, *Cinnha*, *Bhauma*, and *Śakuna*, knows, as if a witness, pleasure and pains, success and failure, and everything else in the three times (past, present and the future) and who shone with his two disciples, Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali, made the *Mūla-Samgha* (consisting) of the *Kundakundānvaya* (lineage) into

84 *Cf.* Bühler, op cit, p 8

85 *Ācāranga Sūtra* I, 7 1, S. B. E. XXII, p. 62.

86 Smith, op. cit., p. 38.

four samghas in order to minimise hatred and other (evils) that might arise owing to the nature of the times " [87] It passes our comprehension, however, to understand how hatred and other evils could be minimised by creating such divisions ! The inscription goes on to say, "*Let one make a difference* in the case of *heterodox samghas* such as the *Sitāmbara* and *others which are of a form contrary to rule* , but *who thinks of such a thing in the case of the SENA, NANDI, DEVA, and SIMHA Samghas, is a heretic* ' [88]

Dr Hoernle identifies Arhadbalin with Guptigupta, disciple of Bhadrabāhu II , for he points out that Arhadbalin and Viśākhācārya were other names of Guptigupta [89] According to *Pattāvalis,* Māghanandin, disciple of Guptigupta, established the *Nandi—Samgha* or *Balatkāragana* , [90] and there are at Karanja, in Berar, temples belonging respectively to the *Balatkāragana, Senagana,* and *Kāstā—Samgha* Mr Hirālāl, speaking of these, observes 'They derive their names from the sub-divisions of the Digambara community into which it was divided in the earlier centuries of the Christian era *Balatkāragana* is the most important branch of the *Mūla-samgha* (lit the original com munity) wich is the original name of the Digambaras Kundakundācārya (1st cent A D) is said to have caused by a miracle the stone image of *Saraswati* to decide a dispute between the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras, in favour of the latter Since he made Saraswati to speak by force (बलात्) his followers called themselves *Balātkāragana* of the *Saraswati-gachcha* The closing verses of a genealogy found in the temple of the *Balātkāragana* (at Karanja) state that

" Preceptor Padmanandi became the first of the Balātkāragaṇa by whom the stone-made Saraswati was made to speak.

87 Ep Car II SB 254, pp 110-11

88 Ibid

89 Hoernle, Two Pattāvalis of the Saraswati Gachcha, Ind Ant XX, p 350

90 Ibid; cf. Fleet, Bhadrabāhu, Candragupta, and S'ravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, Ind. Ant XXI, p. 159

Thereby arose the Saraswati-gachcha on the mount Ūrjayanta Hence, a bow to that lord of sages Padmanandi " (vv 41–2)

'That Padmanandi is another name of Kundakundācārya is proved by the 4th verse of the same genealogy

आचार्यः कुंदकुंदाख्यो वक्रग्रीवो महामति. ।
एलाचार्यो गृद्ध्रपिच्छः पद्मनंदीति मन्यते ॥[91]

It is interesting to notice that this verse is also found inscribed on the lamp-pillar of the Gāṇagitti-temple at Vijayanagara recording the grant of Irugapa, already alluded to, only instead of पद्मनंदीति मन्यते in the second line we find the words 'इति तन्नाम पंचधा' This substitution was evidently necessitated by the previous lines of the inscription which read

श्रीमूलसंघेऽजनि नंदिसंघस्तस्मिन् बलात्कारगणोऽतिरम्यः ।
तत्रापि सारस्वतनाम्नि गच्छे स्वच्छाशयन्भूदिह पद्मनंदि ॥[92]

Prof Jacobi has observed that "The inscriptions furnish materials for a necessarily incomplete history of their ancient schools (*ganas*), but they do not quite agree in all details with the more modern traditions of the *Pattāvalis* "[93] We have here at least one remarkable instance of epigraphical confirmation of the statements made in the *Pattāvalis* referred to by Mr Hiralal It is clear also that Balātkāragaṇa was but a subdivision of the *Nandi-Samgha* The words बलात्कारगणोऽतिरम्यः indicate the special pride of the members belonging to it The Belgola inscription with like pride says,

"Among these *Samghas*, the *Nandi-Samgha*, *an eye to the world* has the three subdivisions *gana*, *gachcha*, and *vali*, and *victorious is the lofty Ingulêśwara-vali* of the *pure Pustaka-gachcha* of the *virtuous Desigana* of that *Samgha* In it were Naga, Deva, Udaya, Ravi, Jina, Megha, Prabha, and Bala *with the suffix Candra*, Deva, Śri, Bhānu, Candra, Śruta, Naya, Guna, Dharma and others *with the suffix Bhūsana*, as also Vidya, Dama, Indra, Padma, Amara, Vasu, Guṇa, and Māṇikya *with*

91 *Cf* Hiralal, op cit, p iii

92 Hultzsch, S I I 1, pp 156-57

93 Jacobi, Jainism, E R E VII, p 474

the suffix Nandi Destroyers of sin, breakers of the tusks of the elephants the disputants, conferers of various kinds of good fortune, bees to the lotuses universal learning, possessors of bright bodies uninfluenced by the world-conqueror Cupid, lofty by their pure conduct, and free from the ties of the world were these celebrated ones "[94]

It need hardly be pointed out that the list of the names and suffixes contained in this epigraphical record must serve as a valuable index to the class, sect, or subsection of any given *Ācārya* or teacher, though obviously not an infallible guide owing to much overlapping There are indications in Tamil inscriptions as to separate villages being occupied by the Jainas, Brāhmanas, and others[95] Names of villages or places like *Samana-halli* or village of the *Śramanas*, *Śravana Beḷgola* or the white pond of the *Śramanas*, and *Savanoor*, *Savanadurga*, etc surely seem to confirm the same fact Mr Rice, for instance, has likewise pointed out that *Pansôgê* or *Hansôgê* in Coorg was the official centre of the *Hottagê-gachcha* which he identifies with *Pustaka-gachcha*[96] Some of the other sub-divisions met with mostly in the inscriptions are *Valahāri-gana*, *Kālôgra-gana*, *Karanūr-gana* or *Kanūrgana*, *Yāpanīya-Samgha*, *Māthura-samgha*, *Gopyasamgha*, *Addakali-gachcha* and *Trintrini-gachcha*[97] *Gana*, *Samgha* and *Gachcha*, are often used as convertible terms, as for example an inscription of Amma II speaks of Dhiradeva, disciple of Divākara, as belonging to the *Yāpanīya-Samgha* of *Nandi-gachcha*,[98] and the *Jaina-Siddhānta-Bhāskara* gives the apostolic line of the *Sena-gana* founded by Jinasena I[99] We

94 Ep Car II SB 254, pp 110-11

95 *Cf* Ch IV n 40 above

96 Rice, Ep Car IV Yd 26, cf *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pp 141-42

97 *Cf*, Rangāchārya, op cit II SK 215, Nl 397, C P 324 (Madras Museum), Sheshagiri Rao, *Studies in S I J* II, pp 61-2, Nathuram Premi, op cit p 117

98 *Cf* Rangāchārya, op cit Nl 397

99 Ibid, p 995

have already found these referred to above as *Nandi-Samgha* and *Sena-samgha* respectively in the Śravana Belgola inscription [100] But almost all of the orthodox divisions trace their origin from the Mūlasamgha and Kundakundānvaya which evidently points to their genesis after that great teacher who lived about the 1st century

The heterodex *Samghas* are mentioned as being five in number, by Indranandi in his *Nītisāra*

गोपुच्छकः श्वेतवासा द्राविडो यापनीयकः ।
निःपिच्छकश्चेति पञ्चैते जैनाभासा. प्रकीर्तिता ॥ [101]

It is rather surprising to find the *Yāpanīyas* included in the list, as we find them described in an inscription of Amma II as part of the *Nandi-Samgha* which was orthodox according to Arhadbalin Similarly, the *Drāvida-Samgha* Its founder is said to have been Vajranandi, disciple of Pūjyapāda who certainly belonged to the Kundakunda lineage The *Mathura-Samgha* is supposed to be a sub-division of *Kāstā-Samgha* whose foundation is attributed to Kumārasena, the desciple of a co-disciple of Jinasena author of the *Mahapurāna* According to Devasena's *Darśanasāra* Kumārasena was भ्रष्ट-सन्यास or fallen away from the path of asceticism [102] His reference to Jinacandra, pupil of Śāntāycārya, pupil of Śri Bhadrabāhu-ganin has already been alluded to We quote below the full passage in order to illustrate the manner in which these divisions took place, no less than the attitude of one sect towards the founder of another

"Śri Bhadrabāhuganin had a pupil by name Śāntyācārya, and he a pupil of Jinacandra, wicked and slow to good works

"He devised this doctrine—that women, in their life as women, can be saved, that the *Kêvalins* or perfected saints eat —though none could see them eating, and were subject to disease

"That the sage who puts clothes on may be saved, that Vīra was translated from one womb to another, that salvation may

100 *Cf* n 90 above
101 *Cf* Nāthuram Premi, op cit, p 132.
102 *Cf.* Ibid, pp 133–34, 138 and 141

be found in every creed, and that what is declared to have life in it should never be eaten.

"These and other false doctrines he made, perverting the scriptures—and thereby plunged his soul in the first hell"[103]

No less than eighty-four sub-sects of the Jainas are enumerated in the *Marāthi-Jnāna-Kośa*,[104] and the origin of each appears to have been due to reasons as trivial as those noted above They differed as to whether a man should bathe in cold water or hot water, eat or not eat certain plants, worship standing or sitting, should decorate images or not, and whether the ascetics were to carry, if at all, a bundle of pea-cock feathers or a cow-tail whisk, etc, etc[105] Without going into these trivialities, therefore, we shall proceed to examine the more real causes of most of these divisions

The Jainas of Dhārwār have a tradition which very well illustrates how they crystallised themselves into a separate caste owing to their strict observence of *Ahimsa* They say that there was in ancient times a king named Ikśāvāku who had two family priests one of them, Parvat by name, sacrificed sheep to the god of fire, and the other, called Nārad, used only parched rice for oblations The descendants of the former, according to them, are the Brāhmanas, and those of the latter, the Jainas They also hold that their community was once divided into *Brāhmana*, *Ksatriya*, *Vaisya*, and *Śūdra*, but that the Ksatriyas having disappeared long ago, only the other three now remain[106] This fourfold Aryan division of society is everywhere traceable among the Jainas of Karnātaka and undoubtedly indicates the influence of Aryan ideas and institutions over the mass of Dravidian population A decisive proof of this is found in South Kanara, where, only one section of the

103 *Dars'anasamgraha* vv 12-15, cf, Peterson, op cit III, p 24

104 *Marāthi-Jnāna-Kos'a* (ज), p 523,

105 For a detailed consideration of these see Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, pp, 355-57, Burgess, *Digambara Iconography*, pp 2 3, Ind Ant VII p 28

106 *Cf* Dharwar Bom Gaz XXII, p 116

Jaina community follows the Aryan law of inheritance, whereas another, still adheres to a relique of the Dravidian matriarchate, *viz*, the *Aliya Santāna* law according to which property devolves, not from father to son, but from maternal uncle to nephew [107] The tendency for the Aryan to drive the Dravidian underground is indeed still visible in the vigorous movement set afoot to have done with this anomalous anachronism by means of legislation, and thereby do away with one barrier which isolates the Jainas of South Kanara from the rest of their co-religionists in India The priestly class among the South Kanara Jainas are divided into two sections '*Kannada Pūjāris*' and '*Tulu Pūjāris*' about whom Sturrock observes, " the latter are indigenous, while the former are descended from emigrants from above the *ghauts* " [108] Moreover, the priests, as a rule, have marriage relations only with their own class, although they dine with the remaining three namely, the Brāhmana, Ksatriya, Vaiśya sections of the laity When they marry at all outside their own class such relations are confined to these three classes alone [109] There are besides these, several osher classes of Jainas known as Śetvals, Caturthas, Bogars, Pancamas, and Gaudas, all of whom might however be classed as Śūdras Thurston observes there are as many as twenty-two sub-divisions among the Tamil Jainas [110]

The *Śetvāls* appear to have been originally a body of hundred families excommunicated for some unknown reason, and now forming a sect by themselves [111] The *Caturthas* or 'fourth class' are of course the Śūdras, Buchanan speaks of them as the *Sadru*, (Woculigas or cultivators) and says, "They worship only the god Jina, but do not inter-marry with the true *Jainaru* " The reason for this was that " formerly the Sadru were Jainaru, but his ancestors disliking that religion, betook

107 Sturrock, op cit, pp 191, 158, Thurston, op cit, pp 426-27
108 Sturrock, op cit, pp 190-91
109 Dharwar, op cit, pp 116-17,
110 Thurston, op cit, pp 419-20
111 Dharwar, op cit, p 117

themselves to worship Visnu "[112] As a matter of fact there is another class called '*Jaina Banajigaru* or *Dāsa Banajigas* who style themselves '*Jaina Ksatriya Rāmānujas*' These appellations are a string of contradictory epithets, only revealing the confusion of faiths that resulted in the course of centuries *Banajigas*, for aught we can make out, must have been traders (San वाणिज्य trade), but they call themselves *Ksatriyas*! *Jaina Rāmānuja* is again an unintelligible paradox Whereas, in truth, the "Jaina Banajigas" are not Jainas at all, for Buchanan says they were converted to Śaivism at the time of Basava To make this confusion, worse confounded he adds, "They worship the same gods as the Hindu Pancama Baṇiji, *i e* Śiva, his wife and sons, whom they consider identical with Brahma and Śiva!"[113]

The *Gaudas*[113a] are farmers and labourers, speaking Tulu or Kannada as their home-language They all follow the ordinary system of inheritance and not that of "descent through females" Generally they are Hindus, but some are also Jainas[114] Sturrock gives the following account of their splendid organisation —

"They have a somewhat elaborate system of caste goverment In every village there are two head-men, the *Grāma-Gauḍa* and the *Vattu* or *Gottu Gauda*, for every group of eight or nine villages there is another head, called the *Māganê Gauda*, and for every nine *māganês* there is a yet higher authority called the *Kattêmanèyava* The caste is divided into eighteen *baris* or *balis*,

112 Buchanan, op cit I, pp 421-22

113 Buchanan, op cit, p 240 These Banajigas might very well be compared to the *Malkhanās* of Rajputana and the *Kabir-panthis* of North India, both of whom are a curious mixture of Hindu and Mahomedan faiths—the one from ignorance and force of habit, the other from enlightened eclecticism

113a From *Grāma-bhajaka* (Smrtis), *Gāvuṇda* (*grāma-uṇda*, inscriptions), to *gauṇda* or *gauda*

114 *Cf* Sturrock, op cit, p 191, Thurston, op. cit, and Buchanan op cit., pp 421-22

which are of the usual exogamous character The names of all these have not been ascertained, but those of twelve of them are as follows (1) Bangara, (2) Nandara, (3) Mūlara, (4) Hêmmaṇa, (5) Sālu, (6) Kabru, (7) Goḷi, (8) Nāyar, (9) Seṭṭi, (10) Basruvogaru, (11) Balasanna, and (12) Karmanaya "[115]

The *Bogāra* sub-division of the Jainas, who are at present found in the Bellary and Belgaum districts, are chiefly workers in brass, they cannot inter-marry with the others though they may dine with them[116] This is in fact the chief barrier which divides the various sub-castes of the Jainas, noticed above, from one another, justisfying the observation of Smith that though the teaching theoretically condemns caste, " in practice the modern Jaina is as fast bound as his Hindu brother in the iron fetters of caste "[117] Buchanan has pointed out that the Jainas of Tuḷuva do not admit that any Śūdras belong to their sect, but the office of *Purôhita* is in the hands of the Brāhmaṇas alone[118] Thurston also says, that, in the Tamil country, an ordinary layman cannot become an *Arcaka*, it is a class apart and they do not have marriage relations with laymen[119] In the Kannada districts, even the Caturthas and the Pancamas do not intermarry, although they are qually classed among the Śūdras

The origin of the *Pancama* class is generally attributed to their excommunication on account of widow-marriage, but it does not seem unlikely that some at least among them might have been converts to Jainism from the Hindu caste of untouchables at a time when Jainism was still in its pristine condition[120] The survival of original distinctions, habits, customs and institutions, even after formal conversion from faith to faith have been already illustrated in this chapter, but we might add one more instance to enforce the same conclusion

115 Sturrock, op cit, p 102
116 *Cf Bellary Gazetteer* I, p. 64; Belgaum, Bom Gaz, XXI, p 102.
117 Smith, op cit, p 54
118 Buchanan, op cit III, p 412
119 Thurston, op cit pp 432-33
120 Dharwar, op cit, pp. 116-17.

Speaking of the Roman Catholics of South Kanara, Sturrock has remarked, "To this day the Roman Catholics have not entirely shaken themselves free of the trammels of caste and they are still divided into classes of which *Bāmmans* or Brāhmins, *Cārodas* or Ksatriyas, *Sudirs* or Śūdras, salt-makers and washermen are the most prominent .. The cultivating and labouring classes are much like their Hindu neighbours ... All classes retain the Hindu dress Married women substitute for the Hindu '*tāli*', a necklet from which is suspended a figure of the infant Jesus made of gold in the case of those who can afford it They have all Portugese names such as Saldanha, Brito, Mascarenhas, Vas, Coelho, Sequeira, derived from Portugese sponsors, when their ancestors were baptised after conversion, but in some cases, especially in the rural districts, they use their old native titles such as Prabhu, Naik, Shetti, Pai, Padval, etc

"*In the same way as some relics of caste feelings still remain among them, their whole habit of life is in many ways still affected by survivals of old customs and modes of thought, though* western ideas have made much more progress amongst the Canara Christians than amongst the corresponding classes on the east coast *Many of them, especially amongst the women, cannot bear the idea of eating beef Widow re-marriage is not prohibited, but it is looked upon with much disfavour* A bride-groom of good position expects a large dowry with his bride, and many a man has been impoverished by being blessed with a large family of daughters A wife never calls her husband by his name, and except among the more educated classes she is no more regarded as her husband's equal than is the case among other natives "[121]

This lengthy quotation is justifieable becaus the remarks made therein are almost literally applicable to the Jainas The present day Jainas wear caste-marks just as other Hindus do,[122]

121 Sturrock, op cit, pp 185-86

122 *Cf* Thurston, op cit, p 430, Belgaum, op cit, p 102.

they do not marry widows, except among the *Pancamas*,[123] they observe fasts, festivals, ceremonials, quite like other Hindus,[124] child-marriages also take place among the Jainas;[125] they burn the dead, throw the ashes on the third day into a river, and even offer rice-balls to the crows on the tenth day, and feed relatives and caste-fellows on the twelfth and thirteenth days[126] A detailed consideration of these and other points, interesting as they may be, would take us far beyond our limits. But a few of the more striking features which have crept into Jaina society, especially in contradiction to their avowed theories and practices, might be described with advantage.

Jainism, being like Buddhism an anti-Vedic movement, must have cast off the sacred thread of the Brāhmaṇas, in conformity with their democratic denunciation of caste But, with the resumption of this institution, in practice though not in theory, the Digambaras of Karnātaka also adopted its most distinctive symbol It does not seem unlikely that great converts to the Jaina faith from Brāhmanical ranks, like for instance, Gangarāja[127] and Vādiganghala Bhatta,[128] might have insisted upon retaining the marks of their social status, even after their formal acceptance of the new creed The concession once made

123 Ibid, p 103, Dharwar, op cit pp, 116–17 Now the practice appears to have been changed among some

124 *Cf* Bhandārkar, op cit, p 119, Belgaum, op cit, pp. 102–3.

125 Mhurston, op cit, pp 432–33

126 Ibid Contrast this with what Yasodhara says to his mother in the *Yas'astilaka-Campu* by Somadeva 'The spirits of ancestors have either entered other bodies or passed away into the land of spirits, in neither of which cases they stand in need of oblations which are devoured by crows' Cf Peterson, op cit IV, p. 44

127 Gangarāja is spoken of as a Purifier of the *Kaundinya-gotra, chief of the Karnāta Brahmans'* in Ep Car V Belūr 124, trans, p 82 '

128 The Kudlur Plates of Mārasimha record the grant made by Mārasimha Ganga to Vādiganghala Bhatta, his preceptor, a great Jaina disputant, who is therein described as 'born in an illustrious and learned *Brhman family, noted for its Vedic Study and sacrifices*'. Cf Mysore Archaeological Report, 19 1, pp. 23–4,

must have become the general rule, and teachers like Somadeva only confirmed it by saying

यत्र सम्यक्त्वहानिर्न
यत्र न व्रतदूषणम् ।
सर्वमेव हि जैनानां
प्रमाणं लौकिको विधिः ॥

'Where there is no harm done to the highest principles of Jainism, where there is no infringement of the vows enjoined, all indeed is acceptable to the Jainas which have the sanction of local custom '[129]

Likewise, Jinasena in his *Mahāpurāna*, speaking of *yajnas* (involving no killing of course) states that since they are in conformity with *Vyavahāra Naya* they are worthy of adoption by the Jainas [130] These statements only serve to indicate the new outlook of Jainism, as it was affected by its struggle for existence Now it is the rule, rather than the exception, among the Southern Jainas to wear the sacred thread They perform the ceremony when the boy is about seven years of age, [131] and, if Thurston's information is correct, then, in the Arcot District even girls are taught the thread-wearing *mantras* at about the same age, though they are not actually invested with the sacred cord.[132] This *volte face* with regard to their attitude towards the delicate sex is more definitely indicated by several inscriptions which allude to their attainment of the abode of the gods by means of severe asceticism We quote below a few instances.

An inscription at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa records. "On receiving *dīksā* from the guru, Śrīmati Ganti, becoming a treasure of all penance, a celestial jewel of liberality, the chief of the possessers of numerous virtues, the beauty of the face of the ladies compassion, self-restraint and forbearance, (and) a moonlight to

129 *Cf Jaina Hitaisi* XII, p 146
130 *Mahāpurāna* II., 88-90; cf *Jaina Hitaisi* XII, pp. 144-46.
131 Belgaum, op. cit, p 102,
132 Thurston, op. cit, pp. 483-84.

the ocean modesty, was ever celebrated in the world, being lovingly praised by the earth[133] The subduer of the *Kasāyas*, Śrīmati Ganti, having by severe penance thus obtained name and fame on the earth, and having fixed her mind on the pair of the lotus-feet of the *great Jinendra, the lord of the world*, attained by *Samādhi*, a high rank in the abode of gods Śrīmati Ganti, ending her life by the rite of *sanyasana*, went to the world of gods Her good penance being immense, the meritorious *Mānakabbê Ganti*, adored with the ornaments good qualities, caused to be set up this epitaph *to her great guru* "[134]

It is clear from the last words that the excellant Śrīmati *Ganti* was the guru of another Mānakabbê *Ganti*; which evidently reveals the existence of a regular sisterhood of nuns We have already alluded to the *Gānagitti* Temple of Vijayanagara, and it is possible that *Ganti* or *Gānati* is but a contraction of *Gānagitti* (oil-woman) The oil-pressers known as Gānigas, of South Kanara, originally belonged to Vijayanagara and Mysore[135] Although these are not Jainas at present, the existence of the Jaina Gānagitti Temple at Vijayanagara would seem to point to some at least among them having been once Jainas The class of nuns called Ganti, therefore, might possibly have belonged to the Gāniga or oil-pressing caste. Rice reasonably thought that there must have been a regular sister-hood of Digambara Jaina nuns in South India.[136] The evidence in this behalf is quite canvincing despite such theoretical objections as contained, for instance, in the *Bhāva-samgraha* by Somadeva. After considering various arguments against woman's right to salvation, the writer concludes: 'तम्हा इत्थी पज्जय पडुच जीवस्स पयडि दोसेण । जा ओ अभव्यकालो तम्हा तेसिं ण णिव्वाणं' ॥ भा. स १८ ॥

133 *Cf* "Women, as is usual in this monkish poetry, are very pessimistically characterised They are, for example, described as 'the torch on the road to the gate of hell, the root of all miseries, and the prime cause of discord'" (Hemacandra's *Yōga-S'āstra*) Macdonell, *India's Past*, p 74

134 Ep Car II SB 351, trans, p 155

135 *Cf* Sturrock, op cit, pp 167-68.

136 Rice, *Coorg Inscriptions*, Ep Car I, p. 56 n 2.

In Sanskrit तस्मात्तन्निपथार्थं प्रतीत्य जीवस्य प्रकृति दोषेण । जातः अवक्ष्यकाल: तस्मात्तासां न निर्वाणं ॥ [137]

Against this dogmatism we find at least one instance of a woman strongly asserting herself An inscription in Coorg records that one Jakkiyabbe who performed *Sanyasana* (or death by starvation) which is considered by all Jainas as a sure pass-port to *Mukti* did so "*without hesitation deciding I will obtain Mukti.*" [138] It is reasonable to suppose that this practice might have come also as a substitute for *sati* among Jaina women, in view of the fact that the Jainas condemn every form of suicide excepting *Sallêkhana*, and Buchanan records (on the strength of Panditācārya's statement) that '*widows ought not to burn themselves on the bodies of their husbands*' [139] According to Samantabhadra, one of the greatest of Karnātaka Jaina teachers, *Sallêkhana* was to be performed "when overtaken by calamity, by famine, by old age, or by incurable disease" [140] What worse calamity could befall a woman than the death of her husband, especially when to take a second meant only excommunication worse than death? On the other hand, death by taking the holy vow meant for her glory in this world and salvation in the next, for it is believed that the last cloth in

137 Devasena, *Bhāvasamgraha*, M D J G XX, pp 26-7 vv 92-8

138 Rice, op cit No 31 As lately as 1913 at Rājkot a S'vetāmbara nun, named Jīvībāi, took this vow and died after two or three days "To take this vow and die on a bed of *Kusa* grass", says Mrs Sinclair Stevenson, "is called Sānthāro, and though in this age of Dusama it is impossible for those who do so to go straight to Môkṣa, as they would formerly have done, yet they pass to Dêvaloka, and may hope, if their previous karma was good and their faith in the Jaina creed strong, to pass to *Môkṣa* after fifteen more incarnations" She also states, the practice is far more frequent still, than Europeans realise Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, pp 163-64

139 Buchanan, op cit III, pp 75-6 Rev Heras has got a *Sati-stone* from Gersoppa, *from among the Jaina ruins*, but it cannot be asserted that the *sati-stone* is also Jaina

140 उपसर्गे दुर्भिक्षे जरसिरुजायां च etc Ratnakarandaka-s'rāvakācāra, M D J G I, p 89 v 1, cf. Ep Car II Introd, p 69,

which a nun is wound has the efficacy of giving children to childless women.[141] In any case, there are unmistakable instances of nuns performing the act of *Sallêkhana* no less than those of monks, and there is also in an inscription at Śravana Beḷgoḷa, a reference to the presence of *nuns* who attended the ceremony of *Panca-kalyāna* or the five auspicious things (Birth, Anointment, Renunciation, Enlightenment and Liberation of Jina or Gommaṭa) together with the monks.[142] Thurston says, there is still a sisterhood of nuns in South Arcot who shave and wear white cloth These might be Digambara as he says that all Jainas there are Digambara And what is still more interesting is that he speaks of a class of *Arcakas* or priests called *Annam* or *Annuvriti* "a kind of monk who is allowed to marry but has special rules of conduct,"[143]

Lastly, something must be said about the various pontificates of Karnāṭaka, which also added to the varieties of codes and practices, a geographical principle, dividing the present day Jainas into so many bewildering sections and sub-sections. Buchanan for instance, has observed that the Jainas of Tuḷuva are in many respects different from those of Belgola above the *ghāts* One of the differences he noted was that the former (inspite of there being Bunts among them) denied that there were Śūdras among the Jainas[144] At present the Hindu Bunts are classed among the Śūdras, but the Jaina Bunts, because of their political status, must have classed themselves among the Ksatriyas in the past The *Amonora-Caritra* referred to by Buchanan traces the origin of the Bairâsu Wodeyars from *Uttara-Madura*, and an inscription at Kārkaḷ speaks of Vīrapāndy of the same family as सोमान्वय or belonging to the lunar race (of Ksatriyas) of the family of Jinadatta.[145] Their

141 *Cf. Marāthi-Jnāna-Kôs'a* (ज), p 391
142 Ep Car II SB 268, trans, p 70 n 1, *cf* Ibid Introd, pp 69 70, 89
143 *Cf* Thurston, op, cit, pp, 430-33
144 Buchanan, op cit III, p 412
145 Ibid, p 81, Hultzsch, Jain Colossi in South India, Ep, Ind VII, pp 109-11, LL 9-11 of text, Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pp 188-39

gurus having the titles of Lalitakīrti and Cārukīrti Paṇḍitācārya, though originally subject to the Chief Pontiff at Śravana Belgoḷa, claimed according to the testimony of Buchanan, a status equal to the chief [146] The Bunts are a proud race and their peculiar law of inheritance adds to their isolation The rulers as well as the mass of Jaina population of South Kanara being of this class, it was natural for their Pontiffs to claim independence, just as the secular chiefs attempted to do on the fall of Vijayanagara. [147]

Lalitakīrti is described as belonging to the *Kālogra-gana* which must be identical with (or a branch of) the *Pustaka-gachcha*, as he is also stated to be of the *Panasôgê* lineage of *Dêśigana*. [148] The Jaina priests of *Hottagê* (*Pustaka-gachcha*) claimed exclusive jurisdiction over the bastis of Paṇsôgê and Talekāveri, which Rice thinks must have been the limits of the Cangālva kingdom of Coorg [149] Since Lalitakīrti belonged to the *Hottagê gachcha* and was also the family priest of the Wodeyars of Kārkal, it is natural to suppose that his influence below the ghāts must have lasted as long as the supremacy of these kings But the real pontiff of South Kanara must be considered the Panditācārya of Buchanan, whose fuller title was and still is Cārukīrti Paṇḍitācarya He has his seat now at Muḍbidrê The Vênūr inscription which records the erection of the colossus there, by order of Cārukīrti, calls him "the sun of the firmament of the *Dêśigana* and the moon in the milk-ocean of the pontificate of the town named Belgula " [150]

The pontiff of Beḷgola is, of course, by tradition the Chief Pontiff of most of the Jainas of South India An inscription at Nāgamangala mentions Laksmīsêna Bhattāraka, Jaina *guru* of Śravana Belgola who claimed to be the lord of the thrones of

146 *Cf* Ibid,, pp 110, 112-13, Buchanan, op cit, p 79
147 *Cf* Sturrock, op, cit, p 189
148 Rangācharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency* II SK 215, Hultzsch, op cit, p 110.
149 Rice, op cit, p 142, *Coorg Inscriptions*, Ep Car, I, p. 18
150 Hultzsch, op, cit p 113.

Delhi, Kolhāpur, Jaina Kānci (part of Conjeevaram) and Penugonda (Anantapur District) [151] The foundation of this chief pontificate is attributed to Cāundarāya, who erected the colossus at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa. To provide for the maintenance and worship of the image he established a *Matha* and other religious institutions with liberal endowments, and appointed Siddhāntācārya (Nemicandra?) as *guru* There is a full genealogy of successive teachers who followed Siddhāntācārya From 1117 A D these gurus are said to have borne the name of Cārukīrti Panditācārya [152] We have seen that this has also been the little of the South Kanara pontiffs The year of the change in the little of the Beḷgola pontiffs is significant It synchronises well with the period of Rāmānuja's personal influence over Bittidêva Hoysala [153] That was a turning point in the history of Jainism in Mysore For a time at least the chief centre of Jainism was transferred to South Kanara, symbolised by the removal of important Jaina manuscripts (like *Dhavala* and *Jayadhavala*) to Mudbidrê where they are still to be found [154] It is not to be denied that there was a line of gurus at Śravana Beḷgola even from earlier times, but of this, however, we have no connected records At the time I visited the *Matha* (May, 1927) everything was under Government lock and key, the pontifical seat being the subject of severe contention by two rival candidates, reflecting thereby the unfortunate factiousness which everywhere prevails in the community. Amidst the relics reminding one, of the once glorious past, was a genuine naked Digambara ascetic, Vṛsabhasêna by name, residing in the Bhanḍāri Basadi built by a treasurer of Narasimha I (Hoysaḷa).

The Jainas in the Bombay Karnāṭaka as well have their own gurus. The existence of two divisions called respectively *Lakṣmīsena-gaṇa* and *Jina-sena-gana* seems to indicate that

151 Ep. Car IV Ng 48, trans, p 125.
152 Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* I, p 372
153 Rāmānuja left Mysore in 1118 A. D.
154 *Cf.* Ep. Car. II Introd, p. 28.

the former must have been at one time Vaiṣṇavas (Lit. Lakṣmīśayana abode (bed) of Viṣṇu's consort), and the latter must have called themselves in imitation of the former's name. It is possible the latter considered themselves a purer division. Both have their chief seat in Kolhāpūr There is also a Balātkāragana with its head-quarters at Hombas in Mysore Each sect has its own guru who is invariably an ascetic [155] The Pancamas have their own guru called Lakṣmī-sena Swāmi, who also lives at Kolhāpur The guru of the Śetvāls is at Hombad near Honāwar (North Kanara District) That of the Bogars is at Mālkhed, in the Nizam's territory, he is strangely called *Balutkāragun* represesenting the name of the sect rather than that of a person. The Caturtharu or Caturthas have also their own teacher at Kurundwād [156] We have already seen that there is no free social intercourse (*i e* marriage and interdining!) between these various sects and divisions That even geographical divisions act as great barriers is indicated by the fact that Kannada and Gujarātī Jainas do not dine together [157] The Jainas of the extreme South in the same way, form a community by themselves Their high-priest has his seat at Sittamūr in the Tindivanam Taluk of South Arcot District He claims to have power over all Jainas South of Madras, independently of Beḷgoḷa and Kanara [158] All these Jainas have no marrige relations outside their own small circle No wonder that year after year their census indicate a steady decline in population [159]

155 *Cf* Dharwar, op cit, p. 118

156 *Cf* Belgaum, op cit, p 103

157 *Cf* Dharwar, op cit, p 117

158 Thurston, op cit pp 430-31

(156–158: There does not appear to be a teacher of the caturthas at Kurundwad now, there are teachers at Nandani, Kolhapur, and Belgaum)

159 During the thirty years from 1891-1921 their decrease for the whole of India has been 5·8% (1901), 6 4% (1911), and 9 4% (1921) Cf Shah, 'Decreasing Jaina Population,' *The Jaina Gazette* XX, p 157 To cite one specific instance, the population of S'ravana Belgoḷa, their chief centre in the South, has decreased from 18, 287 in 1911 to 17,292 in 1921. Mysore Census Report, 1921, Pt. V, p. 195.

CONCLUSION

Truly, nothing succeeds like success, and the failure of Jainism to hold its own against its numerous rivals in the South, as in the North, has led to many a false estimate of its achievements in the past. Thus, it is largely held that Jainism, like Buddhism, did not strike deep roots in South India and that there was nothing like a Jaina Period in the history of India [160] With all deference to the scholars who maintain these views, we venture to believe that the study of Jainism in Karnātak, attempted in the foregoing pages, inadequate as it is in many ways, is sufficient evidence to the contrary. Despite the flux of half a century and more since Fergusson wrote, his observations still remain largely true, *viz* that "Until the numerous Jaina inscriptions which exist everywhere in the South are collected and translated, and until plans are made of their buildings, and statistics collected about them, it is idle to speculate either about the time of the introduction of Jainism into the South, or its vicissitudes during its existence there It is a task which, it is to be feared, few in that Presidency are capable of undertaking, and that fewer still are willing to devote the time and lobour requisite for its successful accomplishment, but it is worthy of being attempted, for, if successfully carried out, it would add to our scant stores of knowledge one of the most interesting chapters still available for the religions and artistic history of the people of India,[161] Much research has been done since 1876 when Fergusson made these remarks, but much more still remains to be done However, with what materials we can gather at present, let us focus together the various problems and their solutions suggested by this our necessarily inadequate study

160 *Cf* Aravamuthan, *Kāveri, Maukhāris and the Sangam Era*, p 2 Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, p 55

161 Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, I, pp 266-67 (o c)

EXTENT OF INFLUENCE

First, as to the extent of influence Whatever may be the antiquity of Jainism in the South, no one can deny that there is enough conclusive evidence to the effect that, at least from the beginning of the Christian era, down to the epoch-making conversion of Visṇuvardhana Hoysala by Rāmānuja in the 12th century A D, Jainism was the most powerful religion in Karnātaka The fall of the Kalacūris in the Deccan, during the same century was another death-blow that was given to Jainism in Karnātaka But even after this it continued to flourish in the Tuluva country until its overthrow by Śivappa Naik of Ikkêri in the 17th century Thus, for nearly a millennium and a half Jainism was quite alive and active, and even now unlike Buddhism it has a considerable following in the South, no less than in the North During the heyday of its power there was not a single dynasty in Karnātaka, whether large or small, that did not come under its influence at one time or another The Kadambas, the Gangas, the Rāstrakūtas and the Kalacūris in the Karnātak among the more powerful, and the Rattas, Śilāhāras, Cangālvas and the Tuluva rulers of Kanara, among the minor feudatories, counted among them a large number of votaries of the Jaina faith. Two great princes at least among these (*viz* Mārasimha Ganga and Indra IV Rāstrakūṭa) died in the orthodox Jaina fashion of Sallêkhana, in addition to Śāntaladevi, a queen of Visnuvardhana Hoysala, thereby showing the firmness of the hold of Jainism upon them Among the non-Jaina rulers, the Cālukyas and the Vijayanagara kings, as well as the present dynasty of Mysore, no less than some at least among the Colas, distinguished themselves by their patronage of Jainism In geographical extent, as well, the permeation of Jainism is indicated by the Jaina vestiges still left intact or in ruins in every district of Karnātaka to a greater or lesser degree Its influence among the masses is indicated by the grants made to sacred places by merchants, goldsmiths, and even garland-makers as already noticed, it is also still

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Paithan
Godāvari R
18
Kalyāni
Warangal
Karahātaka
(Karhād)
Mānyakheta
(Malkhed)
Vengi
Krishna R
16
Vātāpi
(Bādāmi)
Patasika
(Halsi)
Puligere
(Lakshmesvar)
Vijaynagara
(Hampe)
Banavase
N Pennar R
14
Gersoppe
Humcha
Dorasamudra
(Halebid)
Kanchi
BHATKAL
Bārkūre
Kārkala
Shravana
Belgola
Palar R
Mudbidre
Mangalore
S Pennar
Talkād
12
Kaveri R
Uraiyur
(Trichinopoly)
Vanji
(Karur)
10
Madura
SOUTH INDIA
SHOWING
PLACES of INTEREST
IN
JAIN HISTORY.
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IDEAL

visible in the various castes, customs, and institutions of Karnāṭaka as noticed in the chapter on 'Jainism as it came to be,' which have crept into Southern Jainism mainly through the door of large and indiscriminate conversions

CAUSES OF DISINTEGRATION

The question that naturally arises out of this is "How did such a vast force and movement come to be disintegrated?" The answer is two-fold Internal causes, and External causes. The internal causes have been already dealt with, namely, the transformations within Jainism itself that made it almost indistinguishable from the surrounding creeds and practices The Jainas were too much divided and subdivided into sects and subsects, and in the words of Indranandi

स्वर्गगते विक्रमांके भद्रबाहौ च योगिनि ।
प्रजाःस्वच्छंदचारिण्यो बभूवु पापमोहिता ॥ [162]

'After the sages Bhadrabāhu and Vikramānka attained to heaven, people have become self-willed through attachment to sin' The external causes were the rise of revivalist Hindu movements, like Śaivism, Vaisnavism, and Lingāyatism, the conversion of royal supporters of Jainism like Mahendravarma Pallava, Sundara Pāndya, and Visnuvardhana Hoysala, and last but not least, the Muhommadan conquests in the South As a corollary to these followed a series of persecutions the truth of which bears close examination We have made incidental references to these in the previous chapters, but it is well to state a few more here so as to arrive at a definite conclusion regarding them.

PERSECUTIONS

Dr Krishnaswami Aiyangar has observed, "Religious controversies between Jainism, Buddhism and Brāhmanism there might have been, but these were apperently under the control of the civil authorities for the time being" [163] Speaking of per-

162 Indranandi's Samayabhūṣana 3, cited by Pāthak, *Pūjyapāda and the Authorship of Jinendra-Vyākarna* Ind Ant XII, p 20

163 Krishnaswāmy Aiyangar, *Contributions*, p 314

secutions he says that these stories seem to have been concocted by the later hagiologists to enhance the glory of their own particular form of religion, and that "*in each one of these cases it can be proved conclusively there is no evidence of a general act of persecution*, such as is described, as these religions flourished in undiminished influence even after the period to which these persecutions are ascribed"[164] The general spirit of toleration in India towards creeds other than one's own has been remarkably revealed in our history at least from the time of Aśoka to Akbar; and we have also seen that the Jainas received considerable patronage even from rulers who were not themselves Jainas But from these instances we cannot emphatically deny the fact of pesecutions in South India The fact that Jainism continued to flourish even long after the 'alleged persecutions" cannot be considered as proof of the falsity of the allegations any more than we can say that there was no persecution of Christianity in Europe or of Hinduism under the Muhommadan rulers, since these religions have survived to our own days and continue to flourish if at all with greater vigour If the several traditions can be explained away as mere concoctions of hagiologists, the following facts are certainly incapable of dubious interpretation —

(1) In the Madura and Tinnevelly Districts a barbarous relic of the old persecutions of the *Samanal* is still kept up in the ceremonial form known as *Kuluvettal* (lit impaling) "The model of a human head is stuck on a pike and carried in a procession, some sit as if impaled on a stake, others appear to be hanging from the gibbets, etc The idea of the performance is to suggest mutilation, and there can be little doubt that it is intended to commemorate the savage treatment which the Jainas of old received at the hands of their Śaiva persecutors"[165]

(2) In a cave near the Anjaneya temple at Bettadapura (Coorg) there is a *linga* on the pedestal of which is written

164 Ibid, pp 238-39

165 Tinnevelly Gazetteer I, pp 100-101, Madura Gazetteer I, pp 74, 297.

the word 'Jina' evidently betraying the fact that the place was once used by the Jainas and that the image of Jina was replaced by the symbol of Śiva [166] The Aihole temple, a photograph of which is given elsewhere in this volume, is another such example Such conversions of Jaina temples to Śaiva use are by no means rare How whole cities of Jaina power were often desecrated by the Śaivas is indicated by the present condition of Bārkūr in South Kanara, which is only one among several such instances Bārkūr was once the strong-hold of the Jainas "Groves and clusters of trees cover most of the area now with here and there a group of houses and a temple, *but always a Brāhmin temple*, the conquering religion rules there, and no Jaina passes through, for the broken and headless images of his Tīrthankaras may be picked up by the dozen among the grass and bushes that have crept over his shattered temples, and here and there one may be seen laid before the entrance of a Brāhmin temple over which all must tread " [167]

There could be little doubt, therefore, that apart from the innate weakening of the Jaina religion, these persecutions were real and largely responsible for the final overthrow of Jainism in South India

AHIMSA

But it is remarkable that for scores of instances that could be cited of persecutions directed against the Jainas, there is hardly a single instance of retaliation by the latter The flight of Basava and Cenna-Basava from the Kalacūri capital immediately after the murder of Bijjala was due to a sense of guilt rather than active persecution Hence, as the greatest contribution of the Jainas to Karnātaka Culture, as well as to Indian life and character, must be counted the great principle of *Ahimsa* It is this which has made Karnātaka largely vegetarian in diet and quiescent in character But it is not

166 *Cf* Mysore Archaeological Report, 1925, p 15
167 Sturrock, *South Kanara* I, p 92, cf Smith, *Early History of India*, pp 473, 495

right to attribute the failure of Jainism to their emphasis on *Ahimsa*, as some have done [168] For, as we have noticed already, this did not stand in the way of their conquests or defence of kingdoms, nor did it stand in the way of kings and judges in the detection and punishment of criminals. The bravery of Jaina kings and generals, no less than that of the rank and file is a common theme of eulogy in Jaina inscriptions For instance, an inscription in Mysore speaks of a Jaina warrior, Baicappa, as having 'sent many o the Konkanigas to destruction' and thereby 'gained the heavenly world and attained the feet of Jina ' [169]

PESSIMISM

Another cause to which the failure of Jainism is usually attributed is its alleged 'pessimism' This needs a fuller and deeper discussion than we are prepared to enter upon here The goal of all Indian religions, in fact, is declared to be *Death* and not *Life* Confining ourselves to Jainism for the present, we cull a few remarks from Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson's '*The Heart of Jainism*' to understand what this dictum means —

"The desire of India is to be freed from the cycle of re-births and the dread of India is reincarnation The rest that most of the spiritual seek through their faith is a state of profound and deathlike trance, in which all their powers shall have ceased to move or live, and from which they shall never again be awakened to undergo rebirth in this toilsome and troubled world

"If, therefore, we would try *reverently* and *sympathetically* to grasp the inner meaning of an Indian faith, we must put aside all thought of the perfectly developed personality which is our ideal, and of the joy and zest that come from progress made and powers exercised, and, turning our thoughts backwards, face

168 *Cf* Rāmaswāmi Ayyangar, *Studies in S I J* I. p 106 Dr Saletore has elaborated this theme in his *Mediaeval Jainism* (ch on 'Jaina Men of Action')

169 Ep Car VIII, Sb 152

for a while another goal, in which *death, not life, is the prize,* cessation not development the ideal "[170]

" Both (Hinduism and Jainism) use the same words, such as *moksa* and *nirvāna*, and both think of the highest state as attained by those who have completely stultified their personality, and who are not perfected characters but perfectly characterless beings who touch life on as few points as possible "[171]

" It seems, in fact, impossible for any religion which is not illuminated and irradiated by Hope to become a really missionary faith "[172]

" *The more one studies Jainism, the more one is struck with the pathos of its empty heart* "[173]

In order to realise the nature of the Jaina ideal one has only to stand within one of their richly carved temples, or gaze at the face of one of their great colossi, lost in the exuberance of its peace and contemplation Their mythology and their literature penetrate the utmost depths and variety of human thought and imagination Their ethical ideal reaches the boundaries of theoretical perfection The supreme goal of their life is to be perfect as the *Arhat* or *Jina* or *Tīrthankara* is perfect literally, the Deserving, the Conqueror, the Founder of the Path across the Ford , perfect in the Triple way of Right Faith, Right Knowledge, and Right Conduct Indeed, the harmonious combination of these three, each in its fullest development, is the supreme ideal to be attained , and the ideal is attainable by all including the lowest forms of life and existence Failure in one form of existence is only a stepping-stone to another in which to set right the mistakes and resume the lost path. No one, however low and fallen, is doomed , all have salvation. What could be more optimistic or more dynamically optimistic in its outlook !

Indeed this raises the question, ' Who is a pessimist ? ' and ' What is pressimism ? ' But a discussion of this, as already

170 Mrs Stevenson, *The Heart of Jainism*, p 1
171 Ibid., pp. 171-72
172 Ibid , p 275
173 Ibid , p 289

remarked, would be a digression too long for our purposes What Dr. Thomas has said about Buddhism is perhaps more true in the case of Jainism "Buddhism has been called pessimistic," says he, "*but it is so only in the sense in which all religions are pessimistic that inculcate asceticism, and place true happiness above the pleasures of the sense*"[174]

The following observations on Christian monasticism are illuminating —

"The basic idea of monasticism in all its varieties," observes the *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, "is seclusion or withdrawal from the world or society. *The object of this is to achieve a life whose ideal is different from and largely at variance with that pursued by the majority of mankind*, and the method adopted, no matter what its precise details may be, is always self-abnegation or organised asceticism Taken in this broad sense monachism may be found in every religious system which has attained to a high degree of ethical development, such as the Brāhman, Buddhist, Jewish, Christian and Moslem religions, and even in the system of those modern communistic societies, often anti-theological in theory, which are a special feature of recent social development especially in America Hence, it is claimed that *a form of life which flourishes in environments so diverse must be the expression of a principle inherent in human nature and rooted therein no less deeply than the principle of domesticity*, though obviously limited to a far smaller portion of mankind *The truth is that the Christian ideal is frankly an ascetic one* and monachism is simply the endeavour to effect a material realisation of that ideal.. Two ideas that constantly recur in Eastern theology are that the monastic state is that of Christian perfection and also a state of penance "[175]

"Love not the world, nor the things that are in the world," sayeth the Gospel "If any man love the world, the charity of the Father is not in him For all that is in the world is con-

174 *Cf* Thomas, *The Life of Buddha*, p 178 n
175 *The Catholic Encyclopaedia* X, pp 459-68

cupiscence of the flesh, and the concupiscence of the eyes, and the pride of life, which is not of the Father, but of the world. And *the world passeth away and the concupiscence thereof But he that doeth the will of God abideth forever* "[176]

Jaina asceticism was not based on other ideals only instead of reliance on a personal God, the Jainas relied upon their Ideal of Perfection embodied in their Jina for all practical purposes The futility of mere external form and penance has already been indicated in the words of Kundakundācārya, than whom the Southern Jainas produced no greater teacher

' One may understand the true nature of Tīrthankara, one may have interest in and devotion to the scripture, one may have self-control and penance With all these, if one is not capable of realising his own true self, to him Nirvāṇa is beyond reach '[177]

NIRVĀNA

And what is it that leads to this Jaina ideal of life ? It is non-attachment to things of this world and freedom from anger and sensuous desire

तस्मान्निवृत्तिकामो रागं सर्वत्र करोतु मा किंचित् ।
स तेन वीतरागो भव्यो भवसागरं तरति ॥ [178]

And "*Unlimited perception and knowledge are always associated with Jiva and spotless conduct born of these leads to Moksa* [179]

"*Jiva is the architect of its own form of existence. It is the doer and enjoyer of its own Karmas*

"*Ātma* which is free from the defect of Karma *gets to the highest point of the universe, knows all and perceives all, and obtains the transcedental bliss everlasting.*

" Thus Ātma, becoming omniscient and all-perceiving *through its own effort obtains the infinite bliss which transcends sense-experience, which is free from any imperfection, which is spiritual and self-determined* " [180]

176 St John ii 15-17.
177 S B J III, *Pancāstikāyasāra*, gāthā 177.
178 Ibid 179
179 S B J III, *Pancāstikāyasāra*, gāthā 161.
180 Ibid , gāthās 27-29.

IV. KARNĀṬAKA CULTURE

Such as the character and history of Jainism have been in Karnātaka, what is their bearing on Karnāṭaka Culture? Though an answer to this question has been suggested in more than one chapter of this book already, we should here try to focus our attention more pointedly on the main theme we set out to study It is obvious from what has been set down in the course of our survey that both Jainism and Karnātaka Culture have affected each other deeply A creed that held sway over the lives of princes aud peasants alike, during more than a millennium in Karnātaka, was bound to leave its indelible marks on the culture of its people Likewise, the fact that Jainism came to be substantially transformed in Karnātaka as witnessed in an earlier chapter, is sufficient proof of the strength of Karnātaka Culture From both these points of view, therefore, a closer examination of Karnāṭaka Culture becomes quite necessary.

Culture is not an easy word to understand It might mean different things to different people Hence, it is desirable to explain its connotation, at least in our present context Mr Devuḍu in the Introduction to his book on Kannada Culture has, we are afraid, given it too general a meaning Though it is correct to define "Culture" as 'that which differentiates man from the mere animals,' it is necessary to be more specific He has done this admirably, however, in the body of his work itself Therein he has dealt with 'the development of culture among the people of Karnāṭaka as might be learnt from their folk-songs, tales, proverbs, conundrums, etc' A similar attempt to explore the vital elements in Karnāṭaka Culture has been also made by Mr. M. Venkatesa Iyengar, in his *Popular Culture*

in Karnāṭaka. Though, he, like Mr Devuḍu, has made no attempt to cover the whole ground of Karnāṭaka Culture or to deal exhaustively even with the topics selected" (such as the Vīraśaiva and Haridāsa movements, and the significance of proverbs, folk-songs and place names), both have tried to interpret the mind and heart of Karnātaka on the basis of a very close study of some of its historic phases, and manifestations in its present outlook and life "A deep and real culture," observes Mr Iyengar, "has, as it were, transfused the very air that the people are breathing and it appears in all the many acts of their lives and often in the words which they use without realising the full meaning"[1] At the same time he rightly says "that no claim is advanced that the popular culture of Karnātaka is separate or different from the popular culture of other parts of India The ruling ideas of nearly the whole of India on essential topics relating to life are more or less the same *But each area wears these ideas with a difference* and the men who built up the culture of one locality and *the movements which contributed to it are necessarily often different from those of other localities*"[2] It is from just this view-point that we might look at Jainism and Karnātaka Culture

Culture may not lend itself to a formal and clear-cut definition, but it is not the less tangible because of this elusive character Though there are certain essential qualities, which are of a universal nature, that distinguish cultured societies from the brutish, it is not difficult to differentiate one species of culture from another Thus, it is not wrong to speak of Indian Culture, European Culture, Chinese Culture, and so on In like manner, it is also possible to mark out provincial variations in our national culture For instance, though all Indian women may be wearing *sārees*, as distinguished from the gowns of European women or the *Kimonos* of the Japanese women, the mode or style of wearing the *sāree* differs from province to province,

1 *Popular Culture in Karnātaka*, p 11.
2 Ibid., Preface, p vi

and even from caste to caste. This individualiy is, however, not confined to dress alone; it shows itself in speech, manners, diet, customs, art, etc. And though all these may form a synthesis which we describe as culture of a particular brand (Karnāṭaka Culture, for instance), it is also possible to analyse its several elements and find therein traces of particular influences Hence, out of the synthesis of Āryan and Draviḍian in South Indian Culture, the worship of spirits, snakes, *Māri-amma*, and *Murugan* may be clearly marked out as Draviḍian, while the worship of fire, Brahma, and the Vedic deities, as well as the Āryan philosophy and way of life, may equally be clearly singled out In like manner should it be possible and useful to find out and assess the contributions of Jainism to Karnāṭaka Culture

In the light of these observations, let us recount the distinctive features of Jainism as pointed out in an earlier chapter Here it is well to remember that Jainism was meant to be not merely a 'philosophy', but also 'a way of life' We have already shown, however, that in Karnātaka (as perhaps also elsewhere) it survived only as a *philosophy* and largely ceased to be *a way of life* What happened to Āryanism or Vedism, in general, in the southern Dravidian atmosphere, also happened to Jainism, in particular Confining its philosophic universalism to the books, it became sectarian in its mode of life It absorbed into its own system or scheme of life most of the elements and characteristics of non-Jaina Karnātaka, and by so doing it ceased to be distinctively Jaina Except by the practice of not eating the supper after night-fall and the worship of nude images of the Tīrthankaras, it is hardly possible to identify a Jaina in Karnātaka from the rest of the people His temples and festivals may be different, but their variation looks only sectarian, even as the Vaisṇava might differ from the Śaiva. But whatever be the position of the Jainas in Karnāṭaka today, there is no gainsaying their contributions to Karnāṭaka Culture in the past Outwardly they consist of imparting a

great impetus to the development of Kannaḍa literature, as shown earlier, and enrichment of the art and architecture of the province by distinctive types of their own. Both in quality and quantity the service rendered by the Jaina writers, artists, and architects to Karnāṭaka Culture was considerable Yet to attribute the military and political achievements of certain rulers, generals, and ministers to Jainism is hardly warrantable They achieved their successes in these fields, not on account of any distinctive qualities imparted by their Jaina creed, but more by overlooking the distinctive teachings of Jainism such as *ahimsa* and asceticism Such martial and political vigour or acumen was equally well displayed by the non-Jaina kings, generals, and ministers

Eclecticism was undoubtedly the bedrock of state policy and social relations in those times, with a few equally undeniable exceptions of sectarian bigotry displayed by some rulers and other men Thus most of the avowedly Jaina or Hindu monarchs, men and women, revealed a remarkably latitudinarian interest in the religious institutions and activities of one another Numerous instances of these have been cited by other writers in the field, and the curious reader may refer to them [3] Some typical examples have also been cited by us earlier However, one fact may be set down to the credit of the Jainas of Karnātaka. There were fewer persecutions on account of religion in Karnātaka than was the case in the other parts of South India during the same period This may be, perhaps, attributed to the wider, deeper, and longer permeation of Jainism in Karnātaka We have also observed before that for scores of acts of persecution of the Jainas by the non-Jainas, there are hardly any instances of violent reaction on the part of the Jainas This spirit of toleration could certainly be ascribed to the *syādvāda* of the *Anékāntamata-vādins*. Indeed,

3 *E g* Chapters on Religion and Society in Altekar's *Raṣṭrakūṭas*, Saletore's *Jainism*, and *Vijayanagara*, Moraes's *Kadumbakula*, and Krishna Rao's *Gangas*.

as Mr. J. C. Powys has observed in his *The Meaning of Culture*, "The sceret of culture is to have a knowledge of relative values in this world "

Another trait widely illustrated in numerous inscriptions in Karnāṭaka is that of the spirit of self-abnegation and sacrifice. Sati-stones and Vīrgals proclaim this in all parts of Karnāṭaka Though this was a feature of the spirit of the age, the example of hundreds of Jainas voluntarily subjecting themselves to the tribulations of *sallekhana* and *samādhi-marana* must indibutably have heartened the votaries of even other sects to do the same, as a matter of honour

The Jaina *basadis* were repositories of learning, in all branches, even as their arctitecture afforded a stimulous to artistic expression and their *yatis* set examples of high spiritual striving It was Jaina writers who insisted on maintaining the purity of the Kannada language " Several of the Jaina authors, " observes Mr R Narasimhāchār, "who were advocates of purism in the use of Kannada, have condemned the practice of introducing unnecessary Sanskrit words into Kannada composition They denounce the practice as the mark of an imperfect education Nayasena compares it to the mixing of ghee and oil, and Nāgavarma, to the stringing of pearls along with pepper-corns There were even a few authors who attempted to write works in Kannada without the admixture of Sanskrit words in order to show that the use of Sanskrit is not indispensable for Kannada composition "[4] It was a Jaina poet Nṛpatunga who gave us the true extent of Karnāṭaka as the country stretching from the Godāvarī to the Kāverī

ಕಾವೇರಿಯಿಂದಮಾಗೋ
ದಾವರಿವರಮಿರ್ದನಾಡದಾಕನ್ನಡದೊಳ್ ।
ಭಾವಿಸಿದ ಜನಪದಂ ವಸು-
ಧಾವಳಯವಿಲೀನವಿಷಯವಿಶದವಿಶೇಷಂ ॥

It was again the same Nṛpatunga (or Amoghavarsa I, 815–77

4 *Karnātaka-Kavi-Charitre*, Introd., I, p xvii.

A. D.) who described the culture of Karnātaka in the following terms.—

ಪದನಱಿದು ನುಡಿಯಲುಂ ನುಡಿ
ದುದನಱಿದಾರಯಲುಂ ಮಾರ್ಪರಾ ನಾಡವರ್ಗಳ್ ।
ಚದುರರ್ ನಿಜದಿಂ ಕುಱಿತೋ
ದದೆಯುಂ ಕಾವ್ಯಪ್ರಯೋಗಪರಿಣತಮತಿಗಳ್ ॥
ಕುಱಿತವರಲ್ಲದೆ ಮತ್ತಂ
ಪೆಱರುಂ ತಂತಮ್ಮ ನುಡಿಯೊಳೆಲ್ಲಂ ಜಾಣರ್ ।
ಕಿಱುವಕ್ಕಳು ಮೂಮೂಗರು
ಮುಱಿಪಲ್ಕಱಿವರ್ ವಿವೇಕಮಂ ಮಾತುಗಳಂ ॥

"Skilled are the people of that region in making speeches with apt words and also in understanding and pondering over (other's) speeches Naturally intelligent, they are, even without special study, versed in the usages of poetry All are skilful in their speech. Even young children and the dumb learn wisdom and words respectively at a hint"

And lastly, in the words of the Kuppatūr inscription (d 1408 A D)

"Among the many beautiful countries it contained, an abode of the Jina *dharma*, a mine of good discipline, like the dwelling of Padmāsana (Brahma), having acquired great fame, the birthplace of learning and wealth, the home of unequalled splendid earnestness, thus distinguished in many ways was the lovely Karnātaka country"

V. APPENDICES

A GENEALOGIES

The antiquity of the separation between the Śvetāmbara and Digambara sections of the Jaina community is well indicated in the following lists of the *gurus* or teachers preserved by them

Digambara		*Śvetāmbara*	
	1 *Mahāvīra*		
2.	Gautama	2	Gautama
3	Sudharma	3	Sudharma
4.	Jambu	4	Jambu
5.	Viṣṇunandin	5	Prabhava
6	Nandimitra	6	Yaśobhadra
7	Aparājita	7	Sambhūtavijaya
8	Govardhana	8	Bhadrabāhu
9	Bhadrabāhu		

Up to the fourth successor from Mahāvīra their teachers are common Then they diverge for about two or more generations, but meet again in *Bhadrabāhu* after whom there is no conformity whatsoever except in the singular instance of Samantabhadra This teacher is placed sixteenth or nineteenth in the Śvetāmbara lists and about 34th in the Digambara lists The continuations of these lines given below will show beyond doubt that after *Bhadrabāhu* the Śvetāmbara and Digambara lists never meet again —

Digambara		*Śvetāmbara*	
10.	Viśākha	9.	Sthūlabhadra
11	Proṣṭhila	10.	Ārya Mahāgiri
12.	Kṣatriya	11.	Ārya Suhastin
13.	Jayasena	12.	Ārya Susthita
14.	Nāgasena	13.	Indradinna

15. Siddhārtha
16. Dhriṣṭisena
17. Vijayasena
18. Buddhilinga
19 Dharmasena
20. Nakṣatra
21 Jayapāla
22. Pāṇḍava
23. Dharmasena
24 Kamsa
25. Subhadra

14. Dinna
15 Simhagiri
16. Vajra
17. Vajrasena
18. Candra
19 Samantabhadra
20 Dêva
21 Pradyotana
22 Mānadêva
23 Vīra
24. Vīra
25 Kālaka

These names are abstracted from the Paṭṭāvalis published by Klatt and Hoernle in the Indian Antiquary [1] The order of succession has not been tampered with, but only the details connected with each name have been omitted It is significant to note that in the Śvetāmbara Pattāvalis given by Klatt, Sthūlabhadra, the junior contemporary of Bhadrabāhu, is stated to have been a contemporary also of Candragupta who overthrew the last of the Nandas [2] *ergo*, the contemporaneity of Bhadrabāhu I (Śrutakevali) with Candragupta Maurya is unquestionable

After Subhadra, (25) in the Digambara list given above, we have the following —

26. Yaśobhadra
27 Bhadrabāhu II
28 Lohācārya } or (Guptigupta)
29. Arhadbalin }
30. Māghanandin

31. Dharasena (Jinacandra)
32 Kundakunda
33 Umāsvāti
34 Samantabhadra [3]

The list need not be continued further It is well to consider the following observations by Hoernle in the light of the above

" All paṭṭāvalis agree in representing Māghanandin as the actual founder of the Saraswati Gachcha, whence it is also

1 Klatt, Extracts from the Historical Records of the Jaines, Ind Ant XI, pp 245 ff, Hoernle, Three Further Pattāvalis of the Digambaras, ibid XXI, pp 57 ff
2. Klatt, op cit, p 251 n 35.
3. *Cf.* Hoernle, op. cit, p. 74 and Ep. Car. II SB 254, Introd., p. 87.

called the Āmnāya or Line of Nandin. At the same time they also all agree in making the paṭṭāvalis proper of the Gachcha to begin with Bhadrabāhu, two steps before Māghanandin This it appears to me can have but one meaning *before Bhadrbāhu the Jain community was undivided, with him the Digambaras separated from the Śvetāmbaras, but remained united themselves, with Māghanandin the Digambaras themselves separated into four divisions,* the most important of which would seem to have been that named after Māghanandin. . . . .

' Now, it is well-known that the Digambaras place the great separation of themselves and the Śvetāmbaras in Sam 136 (or A D 79) This tradition of theirs is not borne out by their own paṭṭāvalis, as represented in A, B, C, D For they place Bhadrabāhu in Sam 4 (or B C 53, and even Māghanandin is placed in Sam 36 (or B C 21) Therefore one of two things either the tradition about the separation in Sam. 136 is false, or the separation took place long after Māghanandin

" We have undoubtedly here two contradictory traditions of the Digambaras disclosed to us, that of their paṭṭāvalis places the great separation considerably earlier than Sam 136, in the time of Bhadrabāhu The question is who this Bhadrabāhu was *The Svetāmbara paṭṭāvalis know only one Bhadrabāhu, who from the dates assigned to him by the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras alike, must be identified with Bhadrabāhu I,* who died 162 A. V according to Digambaras, or 170 A V according to the Śvetāmbaras The final and definite schism may then have occured later in Sam 136, or according to the Śvetāmbaras, Sam 139 "[4]

B DOCUMENTS

The sources that are still open to the student of South Indian Jainism may be gauged somewhat from the number of Jaina MSS libraries that are scattered throughout South India Many of them are still unknown. Detailed lists of some have

4. Ibid., pp. 59-60.

been collected in the *Śrī Atlak Pannālal Digambara Jaina Saraswati Bhavana,* Bombay. The information has been classified under the following principal heads —

1. Name of Work.
2. Language of the original.
3. Author's name
4. Commentaries if any and Lang. of commentary.
5. Place where MS. is found.
6. Subject of Work.
7. Complete or not.
8. Number of pages
9. Number of Ślokas.
10. Date of Copy

The lists, however, have been copied just as they were received, and hence there is no order in them either of place, subject or even language We give below an abstract of them which may serve research scholars competent to make use of them —

Places where MSS. are found and the total number of volumes that are known to exist —

Presidency Province or State	Place of Find	Total No. of Works	Remarks
Bombay	*Bombay City*		
	1 Saraswatī Bhavana	2410	962 are MSS. out of which 116 are on palm-leaves.
	2 Candraprabha-Caityālaya	444	
	3. Dhannālāl's Library	65	
	4. Manekcand Caityālaya	138	
	5 Not specified	328	165 in Hindī
	Bhusāval	155	
	Sātāra. Ankali	76 89	

Presidency Province or State	Place of Find	Total No of Works	Remarks
	Nandagaon	254	(Nasik)
	Surat: Narsimhapūr	228 566	
	Sholāpūr	718	
	Belgaum	111 33	89 are printed, 3 in Kannaḍa
	Mudhol		
	Dhārwār	49	7 in Kannaḍa
	Hubli	16	Kannaḍa
	Kārwār		
	Banavāsê	44	8 Kannada, 1 Tamil,
	Śirśi	253	31 Kannada
Kolhāpūr	*Kolhāpūr*	931	109 Kannada, 8 Marāthi, 1 Tamil
	Ichalkaranji	29	
	Sāngli	160	
	Terdāl	110	
Mysore	*Mysore*		
	1 Oriental Library	186	
	2. Private Libraries	332	49 Kannaḍa
	Śravana Belgoḷa	999	124 Kannaḍa
	Humcha	689	192 Kannada
	Nāgamangalam	211	
	Sāgar	68	
Madras	*Madras*		
	Oriental Library	317	
	Muḍbidrê	2518	453 Kannaḍa, 1 Marāṭhi
	Kārkaḷ	224	54 Kannada
	Hebri	38	9 Kannada
	Yenūr	23	10 Kannada

Making due allowances for a sprinkling of printed works, at least 10,000 out of these 12,812 volumes are in manuscript

form. A systematic search should certainly reveal more. There are no doubt copies of the same manuscript in several places, but sometimes these hidden libraries also contain very rare and unpublished works like the *Jayadhavalā* at Muḍbidrê [1] From the 'Remarks' column, above, it is also evident that a large number of MSS. is in Kannaḍa; the rest are mostly in Sanskṛt, a few in Prākṛt. and some also in Hindī, Marāṭhi and Tamil. The subjects dealt with are various Religion, Ethics, Mythology, Medicine, Grammar, Prosody, Lexicography, etc. We also often come across works like *Yantra-Vidyā*, *Naksatra-phala* and *Padmāvati Kalpa*. The value of these manuscripts may be gathered from the extracts published by the *Saraswatī Bhavana* in its Annual Reports. One of these, for example, entitled *Vṛtakathā-kośa* by Sakala Kīrti contains stories of the following *vṛtas* observed by the Jainas —

1 Mêghamālāvṛta.
2 Ekāvalivrta.
3 Dwikāvaḷivṛta
4 Ratnāvalivṛta
5 Nandiśwara panktivṛta.
6 Śīlakalyāṇavṛta
7 Naksatramālā
8 Vimānapankti
9 Śrutaskandhavrta.
10 Mêrupankti
11 Śrāvaṇadwādaśivṛta.
12 Ākāśapancami etc [2]

The following passages from the *Trivarnācāra* by Brahmasūri are an ample commentary on the Social outlook of the later Jainas —

अथोच्यते त्रिवर्णानां शौचाचार विधिक्रमः ।
शौचाचारविधि प्राप्तौ देहं संस्कर्तुमर्हसि ॥ १ ॥

1 *Cf* Haralal, Catalogue of MSS in C P and Berar, Introd , p xxiii Now being published by Prof Hiralal of Amravati Berar

2 *Cf* Sri Ailak Pannālāl Digambara Jaina Saraswatī Bhavana Fourth Annual Report, pp 81 ff

संस्कृत देह यथासौ दीक्षणाय विसंमतः ।
विशिष्टान्वयजोप्यस्मै नेष्यते यमसंस्कृतः ॥ २ ॥

* * *

युगद्वयावृतुमतिं सूतिकास्तु युगत्रयात् ।
चांडाला भपचादींश्च तथा युगचतुष्टयात् ॥
अशौचाते च रोगांते शवानुगमने तथा ।
चांडालसूतिकादीनां स्पर्शनेप्येवमाचरेत् ॥

* * *

प्रसूता याश्च पुष्पिण्या अस्पृश्यस्य जनस्य वा ।
दर्शनेवाथ तच्छब्दश्रुतौ भुक्तिं परित्यजेत् ॥

* * *

अथ कन्या सजातीया पितृदत्ताग्निसाक्षिकम् ।
विवाह्यते वरेण्येति विवाहः परिकीर्त्यते ॥ २२९ ॥
भिन्नगोत्रभवां कन्यां शुभलक्षणलक्षिताम् ॥

* * *

मृते भर्तरि तजाया द्वादशान्हि जलाशये ।
विधवायास्ततो नार्या जनदीक्षा स्वमाभयः
भैयान्नुता स्विद्वैधव्यदीक्षा वा ग्राह्यते तदा ॥

* * *

इत्थं चतुर्विधशुद्धीरितमार्तवादि
भावादि वशत । [?] खलु शुचिभ्रुकं ।
अशौचमाचरति य. शुचितामुपैति
सद्ब्रह्म वर्चसपर. सुजनैकसेव्यः ॥ [3]

The writers seem to have been conscious of the calamities that awaited some of their laboured works, and we find Aśādhara closing his manuscript with

उदकानल चौरेभ्यो मूषकेभ्यस्तथैवच ।
रक्षणीयः प्रयत्नेन कष्टेन लिखितं मया ॥

And finally .

मंगलं लेखकस्यापि पाठकस्यापि मंगलं ।
मंगलं सर्वलोकानां भूमि भूपति मंगलम् ॥
श्रीः स्यात् ॥ [4]

3 Ibid , pp 90–91 For 74 *gotras, Pravaras, Sūtram,* and *S'ākhā* followed by the Tamil Jainas, found in a Tamil MSS see *The Jaina Gazette* XXIII, pp 229-31 , cf Comments thereon by Mr Kamta Prasad Jain, ibid , pp 293–96

4 *Pratiṣṭhāsāroddhāra,* of Sri Pannālāl Digambara Jaina Saraswati Bhavana Second Annual Report, p 69.

C. NOTES

Two technical terms that we have often used in the course of this work need elucidation, they are *Syādvāda* and *Sallēkhana* The former relates to Jaina doctrine and the latter to their practice Both are in a sense peculiar to the Jainas The Jainas call their religion

SYĀDVĀDA.

This has often been described as the doctrine of 'Scepticism',[5] but it is more correct to call it 'the Science of the assertion of Alternative Possibilities' [6] It neither affirms nor denies the existence of a thing, but only states that a thing is, or is not, or is what it is described to be only from one out of several points of view with which reality might be comprehended In other words our perception of reality is only relative to our point of view, but 'the thing in itself' is so complex that we can at a time but express only one out of its several aspects No better example of the clarity, subtlety, and profundity of the Jaina intellect could be given than this Yet, it is highly technical and we can do no better than reproduce the following exposition of it which is perhaps the most lucid one could think of —

"The great contention of the Advaitins was that there is only one really existing entity, the Ātman, the One only-without-a second (*ēkamēvadvitīyam*), and that this is permanent (*nitya*) all else being non-existent (*a-sat*), a mere illusion Hence it was called the *ātma-vāda*, *ēka-vāda*, and *nitya-vāda*. Their stock argument was that just as there are no such entities such as cup, jar, *etc*, these being only *clay* under various names and shapes— so all the phenomena of the universe are only various manifestations of the sole entity, *ātman* The Buddhists, on the other hand, said that man had no real knowledge of any such permanent entity, it was pure speculation, man's knowledge

5 *Cf* Hultzsch *Jain Colossi in South India*, Ep Ind VII p 113.

6 *Cf.* Fleet, *Sans, and O. C. Inscriptions*, Ind Ant. VII, p 107.

being confined to changing phenomena—growth, decay, death. Their doctrine was therefore called *anitya-vāda*. Clay, as substance may be permanent, but as a jar it is impermanent—may come into existence, and perish In other words, Being is not simple, as Advaitins assert, but complex, and any statement about it is only *part* of the truth. The various possibilities were classed under seven heads (*saptabhangi*), each beginning with the word *syād*, which is combined with one or more of these terms *asti* ('is'), *nāsti* ('is not'), and *avaktavya* ('cannot be expressed'). Thus, you can affirm existence of a thing from one point of view (*syād asti*), deny it from another (*syād nāsti*), and affirm both existence and non-existence with reference to it at different times *syād asti nāsti* If you should think of affirming both existence and non-existence at the same time from the same point of view, you must say that the thing cannot be spoken of *syād avaktavyah* Similarly, under certain circumstances, the affirmation of existence is not possible (*syād asti avaktavyah*, and also both *syād asti nāsti avaktavyah*). What is meant by these seven modes is that a thing should not be considered as existing everywhere, at all times, in all ways, and in the form of everything It may exist in one place and not in another, and at one time and not at another "[7]

SALLE'KHANA

This is the peculiar rite of the Jainas by which one starves himself to death under given conditions It is held that this act leads to *Mōksā* or liberation from the miseries of earthly existence. The psychology underlying this may be stated in the argument of the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*, *viz*, that death, willing or unwilling, is inevitable, the latter belongs to helpless fools the former is called *pandita-marana* or death according to wise men [8] Whatever the modern mind might think about it the logic of the Jaina was inexorable According to him man

7 *Cf* Bhandarkar, Report on San MSS 1883-84, pp 95 6, Rice (E P.), *Kanarese Literature*, pp 23-4

8 S. B. E XLV, *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*, v. 20-24.

was made up of soul and body, matter was the bondage of the spirit. Liberation of the soul from material bondage was the Ideal. What could be more logical then, than to train the soul like the caterpillar to slowly but surely relinquish the cocoon? Misguided you might call them, but no better test of the hold of a religion upon the mind of a people could be given. The number of people who died by this vow is certainly impressive It is not every instance that occurs that is recorded, yet no less than 94 individual cases are recorded at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa alone, besides the 700 who are said to have followed the example of Prabhācandra in performing *Sallêkhana* noted in SB No 1. The other inscriptions of Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa which record such deaths are Nos 11, 64–66, 117, 118, 126–129, 159, 389 and 477 and eighty others The earliest goes back to the 7th century A D. These include both men and women, mostly monks and nuns 64 males and 16 females Out of these 48 of the former and 11 of the latter died between the 7th and 8th centuries *Samādhi* and *Sanyasana* are the synonyms of *Sallêkhana* used in the epigraphs

According to the *Dharmāmṛta* by Aśādhara, "Firm faith in Jainism, observance of *Anu-guna*— and *śikṣā-vratas*, and *sallêkhana* according to rules at the time of death—these complete the duties of a householder "[9]

But Sallêkhana was not to be performed without the guru's permission, as evidenced by Samantabhadra [10] It was to be performed only in cases where ordinary death was felt imminent, as

उपसर्गे दुर्भिक्षे जरसि रुजाया च निःप्रतीकारे ।
धर्माय तनुविमोचनमाहुः सल्लेखनामार्याः ॥ १ ॥

Even then, it was to be done according to rule—

सल्लेखनायां भव्यैर्नियमेनप्रयत्नतः कर्तव्योऽत आह :—
अंतःक्रियाधिकरणं तपः फलं सकलदर्शिनः स्तुवते ।
तस्माद्यावद्विभवं समाधिमरणे प्रयतितव्यम् ॥ २ ॥

9 *Cf.* Ep. Car. II Introd., pp 69-70.

10 Ibid., p. 88 n. 4.

After pacifying all, with a pure mind—

स्नेहं वैरं सङ्गं परिग्रहं चापहाय शुद्धमनाः।
स्वजनं परिजनमपि च क्षान्त्वा क्षमयेत्प्रियैर्वचनैः॥ ३॥
शोकं भयमवसादं क्लेदं कालुष्यमरतिमपि हित्वा।
सत्त्वोत्साहमुदीर्य च मनः प्रसाद्यं श्रुतैरमृतैः॥ ४॥
आहारं परिहाप्य क्रमशः स्निग्धं विवर्धयेत्पानं।
स्निग्धं च हापयित्वा खरपानं पूरयेत्क्रमशः॥ ५॥
खरपानहापनामपि कृत्वा कृत्वोपवासमपि शक्त्या।
पञ्चनमस्कारमनास्तनुं त्यजेत्सर्वं यत्नेन॥ ६॥

The mind was not to be ruffled or agitated with either desire for life or for death and all the hopes and fears connected therewith—neither memories of friendly attachments nor anxiety for heavenly bliss This is the rule expounded by the Jinéndras —

जीवितमरणाशंसे भय मित्र स्मृति निदान नामानः।
सल्लेखनातिचारः पञ्चजिनेन्द्रैः समादिष्टा.॥ ७॥

To those who follow these precepts the highest happiness is promised

एवं विधैरतिचारैरहितां सल्लेखनां अनुतिष्ठन् कीदृशं फलमाप्नोत्याह: —
निःश्रेयसमभ्युदयं निस्तीरं दुस्तरं सुखाम्बुनिधिम्।
निःपिबति पीतधर्मा सर्वैर्दुःखैरनालीढः॥ ८॥
जन्मजरामयमरणैः शोकैर्दुःखैर्भयैश्च परिमुक्तम्।
निर्वाणशुद्धसुखं निःश्रेयसमिष्यते नित्यम्॥ ९॥

One instance of *Sallékhana* performed in this classical fashion by Maladhāri-déva, is thus described in an inscription

"At the *tirtha* of *Dhavaḷa-sarasa* (Beḷgoḷa) he (Maladhāri-deva) striving at ripeness which was blessed by renunciation, full of joy, with firm mind, (and) exercising (his body) in the (five) methods (*of kāyôtsarga*)[12] abandoned (his) unstable body in order to produce, as it were, the complete destruction of (cupid) who springs from the body"[13]

11 *Ratnakaranḍaka-S'rāvakācāra* v, M D J, G XXIV, pp 89-92
12 *Cf.* Jacobi, *Death and Disposal of the Dead*, E R E IV, pp 484-85.
13 *Cf.* Ep. Car. III pp 206-07.

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